ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

Administrative History of British India

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FIRST SECTION

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Sea-Power and India

While the Mogul and the Maratha powers arose and fell, other events were taking place in India. Sea-farers from the West urged on by the spirit of adventure, by the greed of wealth and by the glory of conquest, came to the shores of India. They began to trade with the ports at which they landed; they built factories; they acquired land; they warred against the Indians and amongst themselves.

These sea-farers were the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French. They relied upon sea-power for their position in India. For, on their power at sea, depended the safety of their communication with their distant homeland, the safety of their commercial and war material and of their reinforcements in men. Thousands of miles of ocean waste separated them from their bases. Over that tremendous expanse of water, their sea-power had to stretch if their footing in India was only to last. In the following survey of sea-power and its bearing on India, an attempt is made to show, how true it is to say that these sea-farers from the West kept what they had in India so long as their power on the sea was strong enough to enable them to do so. Of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French, only the English succeeded in not only keeping their first footing, but in acquiring an Empire in

India. And they did so, because, over all their rivals their sea-power triumphed.

It may be well to notice that, though possessed of a great coast-line and sufficient harbourage and though enriched with unlimited products of trade, India has never been a sea-power. This fact has played its part in her history. From very early times the wealth of India attracted sea-faring nations to her shores. The Phoenicians and the Arabs, the Perisans and the Chinese traded peacefully with her, long before any European nation did. But it was the Portuguese, who were the first nation of Europe to begin and develop extensive trade with the East. Their growth of trade, helped as it was by their power at sea, fostered in them, as in other European nations who followed, the project of dominion over India. This project of dominion was not only fostered; it was soon carried out in effect. The first Portuguese sea-farer, Vasco da Gama, reached India at Calicut in 1498. He returned to Lisbon with the thrilling story of his voyage round the Cape of Good Hope to India. In the year 1500, the king of Portugal sent a large fleet under Pedro Alvares Cabral to India. Cabral founded an agency at Calicut and opened up trade with Cannanore and Cochin, but was strongly opposed by Arab merchants. In 1527 the King of portugal claimed to be the lord of the conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, persia and India. Throughout the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seveenteenth century, Portuguese control over the Eastern seas was supreme. They had acquired Goa and other trading centres on the western coast of India. After defeating a combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet off Goa, the western coast of India and parts of Ceylon were theirs; and by holding Malacca, the chief town of the Spice Islands, and Ormuz, the trading centre of the Persian Gulf, they controlled the trade of India with China, Japan and Persia. Rivals, however, of their supremacy in Eastern waters appeared at the commencement of the seventeenth century. These were the Dutch and the English. Of these, the Dutch were the stronger on the sea. While dealing with India, they concentrated their trade on Java and the Malay Archipelago. On the other hand,

the English settled in India. Before long, the latter came into conflict with the Portuguese. Four English ships fought a portuguese squadron of twenty-five off Suvali, the port of Surat. By winning this engagement, the English strengthened their footing on the western coast, and dealt a severe blow to Portuguese prestige with Jahangir, the Mogul Emperor. Ormuz was seized some time after. Yet it was the Dutch who finally broke the Portuguese power in the East. Their capture of Malacca took from the Portuguese the control of the sea-trade of India with China and Japan. Between 1638-1658, not only Ceylon, but most of the Portuguese settlements on the west coast came under their control. All hope of Portuguese dominion over India vanished with their loss of power at sea.

In this contest between the Dutch and the Portuguese, it must be remembered, that Portugal had been much weakened owing to her annexation by Spain in 1580. Spain, in turn, strove hard to prevent Dutch supremacy in Eastern waters. But the Dutch, almost to the close of the seventeenth century, continued their sway. Early in that century the English had combined with the Dutch against Spain and Portugal and continued to do so, till the policy of the first two Stuarts towards Spain and France, and the growing jealousy of the two trading companies in the East, led to open hostility between them. There followed three wars between the Dutch and the English and these wars led to severe fighting at sea, not only in Europe, but in Eastern waters also. Varying success attended both sides, till the French became a redoubtable rival in the sea-born trade of the East. This French rivalry in the East and the invasion of Holland by Louis XIV hastened on the Treaty of Breda between the English and the Dutch.

Fortunately for the English, the Dutch and the French warred between themselves for the next twenty years. The Peace of Ryswick saw the Dutch emerge from the struggle too weak to maintain their former position at sea in the East and the French too poor then to develop their sea-power. At the opening of the eighteenth century, the Dutch still held Ceylon and a few stations in India, but they steadily centred for trade

on the Malay Archipelago. During those twenty years, however, the English had prospered greatly. Cromwell had developed English sea-power. All rival English societies trading with the East had united into one Company. Their foothold on the mainland of India had become firmer than ever. Finally, the war between the French and the Dutch gave them so great a lead that neither could overtake them again. Hence, on the death of Aurangzeb, when it was certain the Mogul Empire would sooner or later meet with ruin, the English purposed 'to establish a civil and military power of their own in India and to create such a large revenue as may be the foundation of a well-grounded sure English dominion in India for all time to come.'

This purpose was born of the power they felt they now had at sea.

At the opening of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese and the Dutch had through the loss of their sea-power, lost their position in India. The English had come to India in 1600; and, after having first fought for the Dutch against the Portuguese in India and having afterwards fought against the Dutch both in Europe and in Eastern seas, they saw the Portuguese and the Dutch disappear as Powers on the Indian seas. But another Power took their Place. It was the French. They came to India in 1604. Their rivalry against the Dutch began in 1664, but owing to their long struggle against the Dutch that followed, the French were too poor to develop their sea-power during the next twenty years. Throughout that time, 1677 to 1697, English sea-power prospered greatly and secured a leading position at sea. However, after the Peace of Utrecht, the French began gradually to built up their sea-power again. They took possession of Mauritius, which the Dutch had abandoned. Their factories on the Coromandel Coast increased. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, their colonial prospects both in America and in the East were flourishing. But political discord between the British and the French was now rife in Europe and was deepened by quarrels over trade and the colonies in India.

The war of the Austrian Succession started serious British and French conflict on India. At that time, there was no great difference as to strength and settlement between the British and the French in India; so far as their position in Eastern waters is considered, the French were at first better off in that they not only had a naval station at Madagascar, but had most useful, though distant, naval bases at the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius. As the political strain due to the impending war of the Austrian Succession tightened, a struggle for supremacy at sea began. Many great results depended on that struggle. One of them was dominion over India Labourdonnais, the Governor of Mauritius, got ready for an attack upon the British in India. When war broke out, an indecisive naval action was fought off the Coromandel Coest. The British ships under Admiral Boscawen withdrew to harbour in Ceylon. Availing himself of this, Labourdonnais landed at Madras and seized Fort St. George. He agreed to its ransom and sailed back to Mauritius. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, now refused to acknowledge the ransom and re-took the Fort, but was repulsed farther south in his attack upon Fort St. David at Tegnapatam, A fresh assault was planned, but was thwarted by the British squadron sailing up from Ceylon. The squadron supplied the Fort with men and stores. The French were driven back on to Pondicherry which Admiral Boscawen stormed. His assault failed, Further fighting was stopped by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Sea-power had saved the British from defeat.

Nevertheless, the general result encouraged Dupleix in his ambition to found a French Empire in the East by driving the British out. He was right in thinking that the chaos produced by the decline of the Mogul Empire was the advantageous moment for a European Power to aim at ascendency in India. But he was handicapped by the fact that his position on land was not supported by undisputed sea-communication with France. Furthermore, Dupleix seems not to have realised all that the saving of Fort St. David by a British sea-force meant; nor had he fully realised that the damage France had done to Holland, had been gain to England on the sea. He

did not, in his ambition to conquer Indea, sufficiently weigh the breaking of British sea-power as a necessary preliminary. Yet, to a European Power success on land would, in India, follow upon superiority at sea.

In the political tangle of the Carnatic, in which both the trading Companies were embroiled shortly after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, neither Government took official part. No naval engagement occurred.

Three years later, however, the conflict became official. In India, the mutual strife, that it fanned, was therefore officially supported. In this momentous struggle, naval strength played a decisive part. Either the French or the British were to be masters of Eastern commerce and of a colonial empire there. In European waters, however, the French were hardly a mach for the British. In 1755 they only had 67 ships of the line and 31 frigates. against 131 British men-of-war and 81 frigates. Hence, throughout the Seven Years' War, the French could not make any vigorous attempt to challenge the British command of the sea in the West. But they made an effort to defeat the British in Eastern waters and thus to expel them from India.

The Freech Eastern expedition was entrusted to Count de Lally, the Governor of Mauritius, a man whose past experience and character, quite unfitted him for the task. In India, the British were aware of the coming of this expedition but were at the time in conflict with Siraj-ud-daulah in Bengal. Before de Lally could arrive, Clive overthrew Siraj-ud-daulah, secured the rich province of Bengal, of vital need to the British, and sent troops back to the south to face the French.

De Lally's orders were to defeat the British all along the Coromandel Coast. He landed at Tegnapatam and took Fort St. David. At sea, he was supported by a squadron under Admiral D'Ache. Several sharp encounters took place between D'Ache and the British squadron under Admiral Watson. At length D'Ache, like Labourdonnais, grew discouraged and

sailed back to Mauritius. During the rainy season, the British fleet sought harbourage in Ceylon. De Lally, who still meant to fight along the coast, called de Bussy to his aid from the Northern Circars and made a desperate effort to capture Madras beford the British fleet could come up from Ceylon. Through lack of support on land and on sea, he failed to do so. On the appearance of the British fleet off Madras, he retired. The British fleet under Admiral Watson was now in fuller strength. Unhindered, fresh British troops came from overseas to India.

Admiral D'Ache returned from Mauritius, landed insufficient supplies at Pondicherry and left for France. De Lally, thus deserted, was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandiwash. Pondicherry fell, and with it the future of France in India. In 1763, the Seven Years' war ended. It had decided which of the two sea-faring Powers would have dominion over India. That result was not brought about by the petty warfare between the two trading companies in the Carnatic and along the Coromandel Coast, but by the mastery the British had of the sea.

Nearly twenty years elapsed before the British faced one of the most critical phases in their history, In the far West, the War of American Independence had been waged for some time. The British would probably have won against the colonists of America, if their position at sea had not been threatened by all the sea-faring nations of Europe. After the surrender of the British army at Sarratoga, France, Holland and Spain, each with her own bitter grievance against the British, combined to sweep the British off the seas. In India, the British positoion became one of great peril. With men and money failing him, Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, was carrying on war against Haidar Ali of Mysore and the Maratha Confederacy. Both these Powers, especially that of Mysor were in league with the French. In the West, therefore, and in the East, the British were fighting single-handed against great odds. And in the East, as in the Wast, the British position was more threatened on sea than on land. The French squadron, that came out to India, was under Admiral de

Suffren, one of the most able naval commanders the French ever had. He was superior in numbers and in skill to Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, the British commander who opposed him. But when Admiral de Suffren reached India, he found warren Hastings had already seized all the French settlements on the sea-board; and having, as he said, "no friendly port nor roadstead no base for supplies or repairs," he sailed to Ceylon and seized Trincomali, which the British had taken from the Dutch the year before. From there, aid was sent by him to Haidar Ali. French troops, under the veteran de Bussy, were able to land and to take Cuddalore. But with Haidar, they were badly defeated at Arni. In the meanwhile five stubborn engagements were fought by the two fleets in the Bay of Bengal Admiral Hughes was out-numbered and out-man-oeuvred ; but he still gave battle with the fierceness of his race when brought to bay.

In the West, however, critical engagements, had been won on sea. A Franco-Spanish fleet assaulted Gibraltar, but was beaten off by Admiral Howe. There followed another defeat of the Spanish fleet off St. Vincent by Admiral Rodney. His crushing defeat of the French fleet off Sainte Lucie in the West Indies left the British unmolested at sea. These sea-battles won in the West left the British free to deal with the colonists. But peace was preferred. The news of the Peace of Versilles was brought to the Bay of Bengal when Admiral de Suffren and Admiral Hughes were at grips with eacho ther. But the mastery in Eastern waters had been secured by the sea-battles of the West. Single-handed against its foes, British sea-power had held its own and triumphed. The help on sea these foes hed given to America had, nevertheless, cost Great Britain her colonies in the West; but their defeat at sea left her freer to secure her possession of Bengal and her settlements on the Coromandel Coast. Mainly to the political gain of the British, peace had been made with the Maratha Confederacy in 1782; but the War with Mysore dragged on till 1784. The yers 1782 was one of the most critical in British history; at its close one result stood out : supremacy on the sea held India for the British.

For the next ten years there was truce between the

French and the British, to the advantage of the latter in India. But internal disorder in France led to the Revolution which again involved both nations in strife.

Owing to the growth in importance of the British stake in India, the latter was drawn into the European tussle. The position of the British in India was critical. Before leaving India, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General in India, ordered the seizure of the French settlements again, as Warren Hastings had done. On his departure Sir John Shore took over charge. As the Dutch were growing hostile, Ceylone was taken. But the policy or Sir John Shore, by provoking the hostility of the Nizam, imperilled the position of the British in Iidia. The Marathas had attacked the Nizam who, as an ally, claimed British protection. Sir John Shore adhered to a policy of non-intervention as he feared that, by helping the Nizam, he would drive the Marathas into league with Tippu Sultan of Mysore and thus make matters worse. His policy of non-intervention only banded the Nizam, Tippu and the Marathas together. All these Powers employed French officers who trained and led their armies. Naturally these officers fostered ill feeling against the British. When the Marquess of Wellesley succeeded Sir John Shore in office, he found all three Powers intriguing with the French for the overthrow of British power in India. Tippu, the most active of the three, had despatched a mission to Mauritius proposing an offensive and defensive alliance against the British. He had also invited Zaman Shah, the Amir of Afghanistan, to invade India. The latter marched down upon the Punjab and occupied Lahore. Napoleon, who was then in Egypt and fostered the ambition of driving the British out of India, readily communicated with Tippu, telling the latter of the keen desire he had of freeing him from their "iron yoke." The situation in India was, therefore, a critical one. It was also critical in Europe. Once again French, Spanish and Dutch sea-Power combined against the British. Much depended then upon what would happen to Napoleon. Had he crossed the Arabian Sea and landed on the west coast of India, his aim of ousting the British out would probably have met with initial success. Yet he seemed not to have

reckoned too much with British sea-power, though he knew that Admiral Howe had defeated the French fleet off Brest, and Admiral Jervis and Commodore Nelson had beaten both the French and Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent, and Admiral Duncan had routed the Dutch navy off Camperdown in 1797. To his chagrin, Commodore Nelson surprised and routed his fleet at the Battle of the Nile and left him to face, not the problem of crossing the Arabian Sea, but of getting home safely. His vision of a French Empire in the East was made all the more vain by the warlike policy that the Marquess of Wellesley assumed towards the Nizam, Tippu and the Marathas, leaving, as it did, British sway dominant in India.

British sea-power had once more thwarted French attempt at supremacy in India. It also gave Napoleon its first rude blow.

The Peace of Amiens, in closing the War of Revolution, made Pondicherry over to the French. Within a year, however, Napoleon plunged Europe into the welter of terrible conflict. To India he sent a considerable military staff whose mission it was, through the influence of French officers in the service of Daulat Scindia of Gwalior, to get into touch with Shah Alum II, the aged and nominal Mogul Emperor then at Delhi. But the Marquess of Wellesley brought Shah Alum II under his control and made him a State prisoner. Nepoleon's interference with India might have ended there, had Russian aggression not forced the Shah of Persia to appeal to him and to the Marquess of Wellesley for aid. The latter declared he was unable to help; but Napoleon, still yearning after Asiatic conquest, saw in the appeal the opening out of a road to India. He hearkened to the Shah and formed a triple alliance between France, Turkey and Persia against Russia and actually strove to find what co-operation he could expect from the Marathas on his arrival in India. Happily, Lord Nelson met the combined Franco-Spanish fleet off Trafalgar and broke their power at sea, put England out of Napoleon's reach and left French oversea possessions to conquest by the British fleet. It was the second rude blow Nalpoleon got from British sea-power.

Had Admiral Villeneuve won at Trafalgar, Napoleon's triple alliance might have been effective. Yet he did not relinquish his vision of Asiatic conquest. After defeating the Russians at Friedland, he made of them an ally and transformed the league with Turkey and Persia into an offer of mediation, which Russia could hardly refuse. Then, through the Treaty of Tilsit, he pressed Russia to join him with Turkey and Persia, in a campaign against the British in India. This tremendous combination against India affords an apt illustration of sea-power. That Napoleon at the height of his success on the continent of Europe should have seriously thought of marching across Europe and half of Asia; that he should have planned to tramp thousands of miles, from the Danube to Delhi, to inflict disaster upon the British in India, rather than to go from Calais to Dover, hardly twenty miles across water, and there to stike at the heart of Great Britain, clearly shows forth the strength of sea-power.

That power helped to break up this march of Frenchman and Turk, Persian and Russian upon India. Through British sea-puwer British troops under the doughty leadership of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had fought Tippu of Mysore and the Marathas for the preservation of British power in India, were able to land in Portugal and in Spain and, by the victorious Peninsula War, greatly to help towards the downfall of Nepoleon. This was the third rude blow that British sea-power dealt the latter.

The fourth was against his power abroad. In the East, Lord Minto who had succeeded the Marquess of Wellesley as Governor-General, had wasted no time in seizing French possessions in Eastern seas. Mauritius and the Isles of Bourbon and the Moluccas were taken. Java was added, as it had come under French control. From there Lord Minto wrote to say that the British had neither an enemy nor a rival left from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn.

With the close of the Napoleonic wars in in 1815, with the capture of Napoleon by the "Bellerophon," a British

warship, and his imprisonment for life on St. Helena, a British possession in the Atlantic, French rivalry for the possession of India vanished. British sea-power had brought about that result.

After Java was restored to the Dutch, as the British found that no provision had been made to secure the interests of British commerece in the Malay Archipelago, a safe-guard on the route of British trade with China and Japan was sought. The Marquess of Hastings, the Governor-General of India, wisely occupied Singapore, then a poor, half inhabited island at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula. Its occupation, in consequence of the modern development of Japanese and American sea-power, has proved to be of the utmost strategical and commercial importance.

In India, the fruit that British sea-power had ripened, was now reaped. British dominion was completed under the Marquess of Hastings and Lord Dalhousie. Though there was no rival of British command of the sea during the remaining period of the nineteenth century, the protection of India was not neglected. Practically, the frontier of British dominion in India lies beyond the natural boundaries of the country. On land, through friendly agreements with neighbouring realms, British diplomacy threw up an out-lying barricade of British influence against hostility on the part of any power beyond. Thus, beginning with Siam, and going upwards through the neighbouring provinces of China and on towards Tibet, Nepal, Kashmir, Afganistan and Persia, friendly agreements with these States have secured their probable resistance to any hostile attempt upon India, through their territory, by an enemy of the British.

At sea, the natural frontiers of India are protected by the influence of sea-power; which, starting in the West from Koweit and Busra in the Persian Gulf, goes down to Aden and the Suez Canal, and from thence southwards to Zanzibar and along the eastern littoral of Africa and, swinging round farther south to New Zealand and Australia, closes in the East at Singapore.

During the Great World War, India was safe from attack on her shores through the commanding power of the British navy. One light German cruiser, the "Emden," caused severe loss to trade in the Indian Ocean till it was destroyed off the Cocos Island by H.M.S. "Sydney" of the Australian navy. The case of the "Emden" serves to show what have to the trade and the sea-board of India, great German battleships would have wrought if they had not been prevented by British sea-power; it also shows how India is protected at sea by the surrounding parts of the British Empire. Through British sea-power, India became a part of the Empire; and, so long as India has no navy of her own, her safety depends upon British command of the sea.

This chapter would seem to show how the fact, that India was never a sea-power, played its part in her history. Sea-power gave the Portuguese a hold upon her sea-board; it did the same for the Dutch, the British and the French. At sea, the Portuguese yielded to the Dutch and lost almost all their hold on India. In time the Dutch yielded in sea-power to the French and abandoned India. British and French rivalry for supremacy at sea then set in. The French lost after a prolonged struggle. In consequence India became British.

2

Sea-faring Nations in India

In the previous chapter it was said that sea-faring men such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French, came to India in quest of adventure, of wealth, and of dominion. Their success depended, as was shown, upon their power at sea. In coming chapters, the success of the British is dealt with. In this chapter the part the portuguese, the Dutch and the French took in Indian History is briefly treated of.

THE PORTUGUESE

The Arab conquest of Egypt and Persia in the seventh century had placed the direct route of trade between India and Europe under their control. All commerce passed through their hands and thence to Venice. This made the portuguese jealous of Venice. Their sea-captains decided on finding a trade-route to India. In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz de Navaes doubled the Cape of Good Hope and sailed a good way along the eastern coast of Africa.

Vasco da Gama

Ten years later, Vasco da Gama followed, but went up the African coast as far as melinda, 200 miles north of Zanzibar,

and from there set sail for India and reached Calcut, on 20th May, 1498. He was well received by its Zamorin or ruler but was prevented by Arab merchants from doing much trade. After visiting Cannanore, he sailed for Lisbon, but came back again in 1524 as Viceroy and died at Cochin in 1524 that year.

Alvares Cabral

In the year 1500, the King of Portugal sent a large fleet under Pedro Alvares Cabral to India. Cabral founded an agency at Calicut and opened up trade with Cannanore and Cochin but was strongly opposed by Arab merchants. Returning home in 1501, he died in 1526.

Francisco de Almeida

The King of Portugal now claimed to be the lord of the conquest navigation, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India and sent out Francisco de Almeida as the first, Viceroy. Almeida did not intend to establish a Portuguese Empire in the East, but aimed at founding such trade centres on land as could rely on Portuguese support at sea. He secured Cannanore as a port, but was defeated at Chaul by an Egyptian fleet; he burnt Dabul in 1509 and defeated a Mohamedan fleet at Diu. On his way to Lisbon, he was killed in a skirmish with the Africans at the Cape of Good Hope.

Affonso de Albuquerque

Affonso de Albuquerque, who succeeded de Almeida as Viceroy, was the real founder of Portuguese influence in the East. His aim was to establish a Portuguese Empire in the East; first by occupying a few important trading centres on the coast, then ruling over these places, and finally colonising them by mixed marriages; where he could neither rule nor colonise, he would, after occupying such places, build fortresses; finally, he would everywhere endeavour to persuade ruling chiefs to put themselves under the protection of the King

of Portugal. Once strong on the coast, he hoped to extend his sway inland.

He began by capturing Goa from the Raja of Bijapur, and made it his political and commercial centre. Next he took Malacca, the chief town and trading centre of the Spice Islands. This gave him control of the Indian trade with China and Japan. While he met with this success, Goa was attacked on land by the Raja of Bijapur and on sea by a combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet. Albuquerque returned in time to save Goa. He then aimed at mastery over the Red Sea, and attacked Aden but was repulsed. He was, however, successful in the Persian Gulf, where he seized Ormuz, then a very important centre of trade.

His policy of conquest left the Portuguese the masters of the Eastern seas.

By means of mixed marriages, he pursued his policy of colonisation and developed a population that, while remaining in India, proved loyal to Portugal. As an admiaistrator, he deserves credit for having put down suttee, for having built schools for Hindus, and for having enlisted them as Sepoys under Hindu officers. He disliked the Mohamedans, and put many of them to death through misplaced religious zeal. He was deprived of office by John III and died in 1515.

For almost a century, the Portuguese control over the Eastern seas was supreme. Throughout the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, theirs was the first and the most powerful European influence in India politics. They had influence at the Court of Vijayanagar, the powerful Hindu Empire of the south. Portuguese Jesuit Fathers were received there with much honour, and probably out of political motives only. Much trade was carried on with that powerful Empire. Its crushing defeat at Talikota, in 1565, followed by its gradual ruin, was a fatal loss to the inland trade of the Portuguese. This defeat had been brought about by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda. Both of these had also

sought Portuguese trade and political favour. The great Akbar valued their friendship and asked for their aid in the Deccan. His design was, however, to conquer Goa, if possible. He too had Portuguese Jesuits at his court and treated them most honourably. Yet his aim in this was but political. Jahangir followed Akbar's policy towards the Portuguese. He gave them monopoly of trade with India in preference to any other European Power; but he displeased the governor of Goa by infringing the Portuguese monopoly of trade in granting Hawkins, an English sea-captain, some commercial privileges. Jahangir withdrew these privileges, but was much impressed on learning soon after, of the Portuguese defeat off Suvali, the port of Surat, by four English ships. And when in 1615, some of his ships were seized by the Portuguese, the attacked them at Damaun, forbade the Christian religion throughout his dominions, granted Sir Thomas Roe all tne trading rights, he requested and used the English as a counterpoise to the Portuguese. Thuse began the loss of Portuguese prestige in the East, which was destroyed indand when Shah Jahan expelled them from Bengal. Aurangzeb sought their assistance in 1679 against the Maratha leader, Sambhaji.

The Portuguese now lost their influence at sea. Two rivals had appeared, the Dutch and the English. The former took Malecca in 1641 and between 1638-1658 held Caylon. One Portuguese settlement after another now passed into the hands of the Dutch and from them to the English. But Bombay was secured by the English Crown through the marriage of Catherine of Braganza with Charles II of England.

The maratha power inflicted further loss on the Portuguese during the Peshwaship of Baji Rao. He Was no friend of theirs; and, in his ambition to make the Maratha power paramount in India, he envied their territory in India and their wealth, He assisted Manoji Angre, a Maratha sea-captain against them; and, after defeating them at Kolaba, was promised a site on the island of Salsette. As this promise was not soon fulfilled, Baji Rao, who was out for conquest, attacked and took the fortress of Thana and overran the island of Salsette.

One of his armies, to prevent supplies from reaching Salsette, went farther south, captured Margao and besieged Rachol, the key of Goa. Finally he stormed and took Bassein. When peace was made, the Portuguese surrendered Bassein, Chaul and the island of Salsette. Thus the Marathas destroyed Portuguese political power on the west coast.

Since the eighteenth century, Portuguese India has played no part in Indian history. Its rise to power was rapid; so also, was its decline. The causes of that decline were : (A) : the political union of Portugal with Spain in 1580. This drew Portugal into European quarrels and necessarily hindered its development of a colonial empire ; (B) : their imprudent attitude towards Jahangir, which turned a powerful friend into a bitter foe : (C) ; the superior sea-power of the Dutch and the English. (D) : the absence of expansion inland. (E) : the Maratha rise to power and the capture of Bassein.

At present Portuguese India consists of Goa, Damaun and Diu : Of these, Goa is the largest and most important, with its capital at Panjim. The form of government is Republican. Its old capital is in ruins, but is a place of interest, and famous as the resting place of the undecomposed body of Francis Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit and Catholic saint, who laboured as a missionary on the western and southern coast of India.

THE DUTCH

In 1602 the Dutch began to trade with the East. Their chief settlement was at Batavia in Java. The capture of Malacca from the Portuguese. gave them the control of sea trade between India and China. Between 1638-1658 they took Ceylon. During the first half of the seventeenth century, they mastered the Eastern seas.

In India, their settlements were at Negapatam, Pulicat, Bimlipatam and Chinsurah ; none of these was considerable, for the Dutch concentrated on Java and the Spice Islands.

They never aimed at any conquest of India. Owing to war with Louis XIV. of France, the Dutch power weakened. Hence, in the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth, it was more easy for the English, during their wars with the Dutch in home-waters, to secure possession of the Dutch settlements in India. These settlements were formally ceded to the British in 1783 by the treaty of Versailles.

In Ceylon, as the Dutch sided with the French against England in 1796, they lost Trincomali and other stations.

The Dutch power, however, never centred on India but on the Malay Archipelago, where it still retains its early possessions and prospers.

THE FRENCH

In 1604, the French began trading with India at Surat. But their attempt to vie with the Dutch and the English only started in 1664. Francis Martin opened an agency at Pondicherry in 1674; and, in 1683, the village was bought and became the capital of the French Company. Chandernagore was acquired in 1688, and other possessions were added gradually. During the next half century, the French Company prospered. Constitutionally, it was not independent of the Home Government.

Down to 1746, nothing but rivalry in trade caused trouble in India between the British and the French. But war in Europe brought armed strife between them. Before the close of the eighteenth century, French influence in India was broken. British sea-power greatly helped in that.

The First Carnatic War

In 1746 the War of the Austrian Succession started the conflict in India. Labourdonnais, the Governor of Mauritius, sailed across and took Fort St. George, but returned it for a ransom. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, refused to

acknowledge this agreement and re-took the Fort. The British, on receiving reinforcements from over-sea, attacked Pondicherry but were heavily repulsed.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle ended the conflict. Fort St. Grorge was given back to the British in exchange for Cape Breton. French prestige in India mounted high.

During the next two years, there was outward quiet. French influence steadily grew and, with it, Dupleix's ambition to oust the British and make French power paramount in India. An opportunity of doing so arose over a twofold dispute as to succession. One was in Haidarabad and the other in the Carnatic. Dupleix supported both disputes. The British shared only in that of the Carnatic. Both went to war without any sanction from their respective governments.

The Second Carnatic War

(A) Asaf Jah, the Nizam of the Deccan, died in 1748. The succession was disputed for by his son, Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang, his grandson. (B) This strife was complicated by another quarrel. In 1744 Asaf Jah had deposed the ruling Nawab of the Carnatic and, in his stead, had placed one Anwar-ud-din. He was killed at Ambur in 1749 by Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of the deposed Nawab. Chanda Sahib now declared himself Nawab of the Carnatic, but was opposed by Mohamed Ali, son of the murdered Anwar-ud-din. (C) Dupleix supported Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib in their respective claims. (D) The British were asked for support by Mohamed Ali and had, in self-defence, to throw in their lot against the French. Thus the British had nothing to do with the Haidarabad quarrel. They took sides only in the Carnatic dispute.

Dupleix overthrew Nasir Jang at Haidarabad and proclaimed Muzaffar Jang, Nizam, who, in return, gave the French the Northern Circars, an extensive territory along the Coromandel Coast. But Muzaffar Jung was soon after killed by

his own soldiers; and, under the guidance of the French General de Bussy, Salabat Jang was appointed Nizam.

From the river Krishna to Cape Comorin French sway was supreme.

With the exception of Trichinopoly, the French and Chanda Sahib possessed the Carnatic. Trichinopoly was still held by the British and Mohamed Ali. It seemed as though Dupleix's ambition would be realised. At this crisis, Robert Clive, a young clerk in the E. I. C., proposed to attack Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital, and thus relieve Trichinopoly a little. With 500 men Captain Clive marched on the unguarded capital fortified it and held out for fiftyfour days against Raja Sahib, the son of Chanda, Sahib, who, with a large force, had left Trichinopoly to retake Arcot. Murari Rao, a Maratha chief, admiring Clive's tenacity, attacked Raja Sahib, who was forced to retire and, being pursued by Clive, was badly defeated at Arni. Clive kept to open warfare,, seized Conjeeveram and next defeated the French at Kaveripak Major Lawrence and Clive then forced Chanda Sahib away from Trichinopoly. The latter fled to Tanjore, surrendered to its Raja and was besely executed.

The French and British governments now interfered and closed the conflict.

Mohamed Ali was appointed Nawab of the Carnatic. The Treaty of Pondicherry was drawn up, binding the British and French Companies to avoid meddling with the affairs of neighbouring Indian States. Dupleix was recalled to France.

The conflict weakened the French position and influence as much as it strengthened the British.

For three years there was peace. But the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe set the British and French in India at each other again.

The Third Carnatic War

Colonel Clive and Watson captured Chan-dernagore in Bengal. On the other hand, Count de Lally took Fort St. David. But he made the mistake of calling de Bussy from the Northern Circars to his aid. Salabat Jang was glad to get rid of de Bussy's control and sided with the British. Colonel Forde came down from Bengal and drave what was left of the French forces out of the Northern Circars. De Lally attacked Madras in vain. He was forced to give battle at Wandiwash against Sir Eyre Coote, and was badly defeated. This led to the fall of Pondicherry.

By the Treaty of Paris, no regular military force was left to the French nor any of their possessions, except small factories at Calicut and Surat, De Lally was recalled, tried, and unjustly executed. The British were now masters of the Carnatic and of the Northern Circars.

In subsequent Indian History, little, beyond intrigue against the British, is heard of the French. During the American War of Independence, they re-took Pondicherry and kept it by the Treaty of Versailles. But, at the outset of the War of Revolution, the British re-captured it. It was restored by the Peace of Amiens.

The Marquess of Wellesley was seriously alarmed by French intrigue with the Nizam, Tippu of Mysore and the Marathas. Napoleon was foiled in his design of conquering the British in India, and founding a French Empire in the East, by his defeat at the Battle of the Nile.

At present the French possessions in India are Pondicherry, Chandernagore and Mahe.

The failure of the French in India was due to : (A) The Company had no Constitution of its own but was a departmental concern of the French Government. (B) Having so much to do with European War, the French Government could

not adequately support the Company. (C) Excepting Dupleix and de Bussy, the Company's officials did not wish to meddle with the politics of Indian rulers but sought only such territorial standing as would suffice for successful trading. (D) Dupleix's ambition to oust the British and to make France paramount in India was a dream. The British held the sea and were possessors of the rich resources of Bengal and were better organised as a trading company. Moreover, no conquest of India could ever have won its way from South to North. (E) The naval strength of France was unequal to the task of defending a colonial Empire.

SECOND SECTION

THE BRITISH ACQUIRE INDIA
1757-1858.

1

The Acquisition Begun

The English were one of the four sea-farers from the West who came to the shores of India in quest of adventure, of wealth and of dominion. It has been shown in the chapter on sea-power and India that the sea-power of the British triumphed over all its rivals, and, that one result of this triumph was that the British acquired India. In the present chapter and in those that follow, the British conflict on land against Indian Powers is described. This conflict gave paramount power to the British. Before going into this contest with Indian Powers, a short account will be given of the British from their first coming to India till the close of the Second Carnatic War.

The trading of the Portuguese and the Dutch with the East was early known to the English; but it was only in 1600 that they made a serious effort to share in that trading. Queen Elizabeth gave "the Governor. and Company of London merchants trading with the East Indies" a charter, granting them English rights of monopoly. Even then the early efforts of the Company centred rather on the Spice Islands then on India. It was on the Company's third outward voyage that one of its ships reached Surat.

Portuguese opposition was strong but, after winning the

fight off Suvali the port of Surat, the Englih built a factory at Surat under Jahangir's protection. Ten years after, they again defeated the Portuguese at sea and captured Ormuz. Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James I to Jahangir secured important trading privileges from him in favour of the Company.

In 1623 the Dutch massacred a number of English at Amboyna in Java and drove the rest to seek factories in India. They went up the Bay of Bengal and settled above Masulipatam, and erected a factory at Armagaon south of Nellore. Their first territorial position, a mile long and six miles broad, was at Madras. They bought this strip from the Raja of Chandragiri and built Fort St. George. Later on, Fort St. David was built at Tegnapatam. On the western coast, Bombay was bought from the Crown. In Bengal, Job Charnock founded a settlement at Calcutta and built Fort William.

Meanwhile rival English companies sprang up; but they happily resolved to unite, and thus the United East India Company was formed.

In 1746 trouble arose between the British and French and led to war in the Carnatic. The first of these wars lasted till 1748 and the second began in 1750 and ended in 1753.

During this period of 153 years, the Mogul Empire reached the height of its power and fell to the last stage of its decay. Alamgir II was now its puppet Emperor at Delhi. On the other hand, during the same period of time, the Marathas had grown from strength to strength till they had become, and were, under Balaji Visvanath Rao, the paramount power in India.

The year 1757 was a critical one for the British. In the south, the last Carnatic war with the French began; in the north, Siraj-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, threatened their settlement on the Hoogly. The British decided upon first settling their quarrel with Siraj-ud-daulah, and then hastening

south to the help of their comrades at Madras. It was a wise decision. Robert Clive carried it out and secured Bengal and Bihar in the north; and by sending relief to the south saved Madras and thus helped the British to obtain the Carnatic.

ROBERT CLIVE

The founder of the British power in India was Robert Clive. After a stormy school career, he landed in India, when eighteen years old, as a clerk in the Company's service. He disliked his work, and, in his despondency, strove to take his life. Twice the pistol he held in his hand missed fire. He yearned for a life of action. This he got when the struggle against the French in the Carnatic began. By attacking Arcot and relieving the strain on the besieged in Trichinopoly, and by beating the French at Arni and Kaveripak, he saved the British situation in the South and practically laid the foundation of British rule in the Madras Presidency.

Having left for England in 1753, he returned after two years, landed at Bombay, and together with Admiral Watson destroyed Gheria, a nest of pirates. Sailing on to Madras Watson and he learnt there of the driving out of the British settlement on the Hoogly by Siraj-ud-daulah. Both left Madras for Calcutta, retook Fort St. William, and, as the Seven Years' War had begun, took Chandernagore and, later on, sent Colonel Forde south to expel the French from the Northern Circars. A French attack under de Lally was expected shortly both on sea and on land. The attack from sea has been described in the chapter dealing with sea-power and India. The student should refer to it to complete his view of the situation facing the British.

Madras clamoured for troops. Aid from Clive in the north could not be rendered since it was certain that Siraj-ud-daulah would renew hostilities as soon as the British forces left Bengal.

Clive therefore resolved to overthrow Siraj-ud-daulah and to replace him by Mir Jafar, the brother-in-law of

Alivardi Khan, the previous Nawab. But Aminchund, a rich Sikh banker. knew of the plan, and threatened to reveal it to Siraj-ud-daulah unless he were paid 30 lakhs (i.e., 3 millions of rupees at present). This was blackmail Clive deceived the banker through forgrey. He drew up two documents, one genuine, containing the real signature of Watson but with no promise of payment for silence; the other false, containing the promise but with the forged signature of Watson; Clive showed the latter to Aminchund at first; but, when his plan against Siraj-ud-daulah had succeeded, he produced the document with Watson's real signature and without the promise of payment. In due time Aminchund got over his disappointment and resumed business with the Company.

The overthrow to Siraj-ud-daulah at Plassey was a victory that decided the fate of Bengal, and was the beginning of British power in the North. It was the starting point of dominion going east to west.

Mir Jafar Was made Nawab, but Clive ruled in reality. He received a jagir from Mir Jafar; and the Company was given the rights of a Zemindar over the 24 Paganas, a tract of country south of Calcutta.

Under the rule of Clive, Mir Jafar was far from comfortable. He secretly intrigued with the Dutch. Clive attacked and defeated the latter at Biderra near Chinsurah. This led to the final withdrawal of the Dutch from Indian politics. Ciive now left for England. He had laid the foundation of British power in Bengal. This closed his first period of administration.

During his absence, affairs in Bengal fell into great disorder. Mir Jafar was no ruler. In 1761 he was deposed by the Company, and his son-in-law Mir Kassim was made Nawab. In return he gave the Company the districts of Burdwan, Chittagong, and Midnapur. This was the second stage in the formation of the Bengal Presidency.

But Mir Kassim meant to rule. Trouble soon arose

between him and the Company. It was over his loss of revenue due to the abuse of the privilege, which the Company had, of freedom from inland duties or customs.

When the conflict heightened, Clive was again sent out by the Board of Directors, and landed at Calutta on the day when Major Munro won the decisive battle of Buxar. This battle completed the British military conquest of Bengal. Clive set out for Allahabad, and signed the treaty of Allahabad, with Shah Alum II, and Shuja-ud-daulah of Outh; the treaty gave the Company the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This was the third stage in the formation of the Bengal Presidency. It meant that the British acquired the civil administration of what they already held by military conquest.

For, the Diwani gave a legal aspect to a method of ruling called the Double Government. According to this, the Company had to protect Bengal, Bihar and Northern Orissa with an army; to receive the revenue of these districts; and to pay Shah Alum twenty-six lakhs yearly; on the other hand, Shah Alum had to see that the Nawab of Bengal kept general good order and collected the revenue; this meant that the Nawab carried on the general administration of those provinces; but the Nawab in reality was only a titled pensioner and had little power. The Nawab, in turn, deputed two Indian officials, called Dewans, to collect the revenue. Under these, were to British officials, who supervised the collecting actually done by Indian subordinates.

One Dewan was a Mohamedan appointed over Bengal; the other was a Hindu appointed over Bihar. While collecting the revenue, they also carried on the general administration of their respective provinces, but never without the hidden yet real control of the Company's officials. This system of double government lasted in Bengal for seven years; but it proved a failure and was abolished by Hastings.

After the treaty of Allahabad, Clive gave his attention to bettering the internal administration of Bengal. While doing

so, the Board of Directors ordered him to stop the sharing in the Provincial revenue by the Company's officials and their accentance of presents. But, as the Board neither paid nor wanted to pay its officials an adequate salary and, as it was easy for officials without public scandal to grow quite wealthy, Clive, far from remedying matters, formed, with some senior civil and military officials, a society of trade for carrying on forbidden commerce, chiefly in salt.

The taking of presents was discouraged to some extent. But Clive obeyed the Directors in stopping the double batta allowance. This allowance was originally an increase of pay granted to officers while on field service. It was called batta. Mir Jafar had doubled the original batta. As the pay of officers, especially the juniors, was found not enough to live suitably on, the double batta allowance was continued even when officers were not on field service. The Directors found this too expensive and restricted it to field service only. At this time, there were three British Brigades in Bengal, stationed respectively at Monghyr, Allahabad and Bankipore. The officers at Monghyr and Allahabad resigned their commissions simultaneously and expected Clive would yield. He did not but dismissed the ring-leaders.

In 1767 Clive ended his second administration of Bengal and left India.

His inflexible power of will and his unflinching courage gave him success both in civil and military affairs. In spite of open and secret opposition, he introduced reforms, and strove to put down bribery in the Administration. A slur is cast upon his name by his forgery of Watson's signature when dealing with Aminchund, and by his favouring the Society of Trade. His claim on History rests upon his founding of the British Power in India.

As a Captain, he checked French ambition in the South and established British rule there. As a Colonel, he secured a firm footing in Bengal by obtaining the 24 Paganas throught his victory at Plassey; this hold on Bengal enabled the Company,

in his absence, to depose Mir Jafar and to nominate Mir Kassim as Nawab of Bengal. The Company received Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong from the latter. From a military point of view, the work begun by Clive was completed by Major Munro's victory at Buxar.

As Lord Clive, he completed the civil control of Bengal by receiving the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Northern Orissa.

This great soldier and true leader of men, who learned the art of war and of governing throught the hard lessons of experience, was impeached on his final return to England for his treatment of Aminchund, and his acceptance of a jagir from Mir Jafar, and for his accredited wealth. The fact is Clive left India a poorer man than when he arrived from England in 1765. He defended himself against the charges. Against Aminchund he declared that intrigue could then alone defeat intrigue; but he regretted the forgery; to the jagir he was entitled as a personal gift from Mir Jafar, and its acceptance was known to and approved of by the Directors; his wealth was an exaggeration. He was acquitted. But owing to the strain of the trial and his failing health, in a fit of depression, he cut his throat with a razor and died at his residence in Berkeley Square, London.

2

The Acquisition Organised

For the next twenty years there was no great territorial expansion in the British occupation of India. There was great need of organisation.

On Clive's departure, Mr. Verelst and then Mr. Cartier acted as Governors of Bengal. Administration was in a confused state. Matters became worse under the Double Government. This form of Government was done away with in 1772. Nothing very definite took its place. Officials monopolised trade to their own benefit. Business men were unscrupulous in acquiring wealth. Intrigue and bribery were rampant. The courts of Justice were corrupt. The currency was in confusion and coin was scarce. Dacoits raided the country far and wide. In the South, Haidar Ali was hostile; and, in the West, the Marathas were a restless menace. Throughout the land, the crumbling to ruin of the Mogul Empire saw the springing up of independent and warfaring realms.

WARREN HASTINGS

These difficulties faced Warren Hastings when he was

made Governor of Bengal in 1772. Born in 1732 of an old and honourable though a poor family, he came out at the age of eighteen as a clerk in the Company, worked at Kossimbazar, was taken prisoner there by Siraj-ud-daulah, escaped to Falta, served under Clive, who realised his high talents, and was made a member of the Bengal Council in 1761; he left for England in 1764 and returned in 1769 as member of the Madras Council From there he was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1772.

Gifted, like Akbar, with a special talent for organisation, and helped by a perfect knowledge of Persian and Bengali, of Urdu and of Arabic, he soon acquired first hand knowledge of the complex system of administration in Bengal. His insight into the character of the people led him to express his policy as follows: "I desire to found the authority of British Government in India on the ancient laws of the Hindus." Furthermore he held that the easiest way to rule the Indian was to rule according to Indian ideas, manners and prejudices. Nothing, he declared, could contribute more effectually to perpetuate British rule in India than the linking of Indian States, through direct dependence and communication, with the Crown.

It is not surprising that a man, so far sighted as Hastings was, so charming and cultured in private life, so loyal and honest, should have been very popular with the Indians. His political views might have realised themselves, had he not been forced to give most of his energy to financial difficulties. It is no small matter for a trading company suddenly to have to govern a large disordered tract of country, to maintain an army and not to lose sight of profit through trade. The Board of Directors ordered Hastings to do this in face of the difficulties then in Bengal. He had to raise money; to make good laws; to be ready for attack either from Haidar Ali or the Marathas. He set himself to the mighty task and formed a new administration in Bengal; but earned for himself, as he said, "a world of enemies."

Revenue Reform : (A) Clive's scheme of Double Govern-

ment was abolished altogether. Officials who had failed in their duty were dismissed. British official were appointed as Collectors and Divisional Commissioners instead of Indians. A Board of Revenue was formed, and was the foundation of the administrative system of to-day. (B) The land was reassessed and rented out on a farming lease for five years. The lease was auctioned. (C) Many harsh taxes were removed, and monopolies that crippled the growth of trade were abolished.

Judicial Reforms : (A) British Collectors were made presidents of the civil and criminal courts in their districts. Judicial powers, hitherto exercised by Indians, were thus curtailed. (B) Criminal and civil courts of Appeal were established at Calcutta. The Governor presided over the civil and an Indian over the criminal. In both Courts, skilled Hindu and Mohamedan lawyers helped the Judges. (C) A simple code of Hindu and Mohamedan law was drawn up. (D) Dacoity and robbery and the kidnapping of children were sternly suppressed. This brought order and peace to the terrorised countryside.

A clan of Afghans, called the Rohillas, had ruled for thirty-five years over a tract of country north of the Ganges. It was known as Rohilkhand; it was rich and was thus frepuently raided by the Marathas. These were preparing a fresh raid. The Rohillas promised the Nawab of Oudh, forty lakhs, if he would aid them. The Nawab assisted the Rohillas and beat the Marathas off in 1773. But the Rohillas failed to pay the forty lakhs.

The Nawab of Oudh now appealed to Hastings to abide by the treaty of Benares and send him help to subdue the Rohillas. The treaty of Benares had been drawn up when Shah Alum II had left British protection for that of Mahadaji Scindia, the Maratha chief; by the treaty, the British had sold Korah and Allahabad for fifty lakhs to the Nawab of Oudh; and it had been agreed that for the sum of forty lakhs, Hastings should send a British force to help the Nawab against the Rohillas, whenever asked to do so.

The appeal came sooner than Hastings had expected; but, fearing lest the Rohillas should league with the Marathas, he sent a force under Colonel Champion to the aid of the Nawab. The Rohillas were defeated at Miran Katra; and their leader, Hafiz Rehmat Khan was killed.

All Rohilkhand was annexed, except the small state of Rampur, which still retains its independence. By this annexation, not only Oudh but Bengal was better protected against Maratha raiding.

Share-holders in the Company clamoured for higher profits; they wrongly thought the Company owned unlimited wealth. But all profits were consumed by the expense of organising and administering so large a tract of territory as the Company possessed. In 1773 the Company, well-nigh bankrupt, asked Lord North's ministry for a loan of a million pounds. This demand revealed the need of method in the legislation of Bengal. The loan was granted; but it brought the Company under the control of Parliament. The Regulating Act was passed. Its aim was to bring under rule the affairs of the Company. It has since formed the basis of British administration in India. By the Regulating Act : (A) The Governor of Bengal was made the Governor-General of all the Company's Possession in India. In matters of great moment, the Governors of Madras and of Bombay had to obtain his sanction. (B) A Council of four members was to govern with him. (C) Both the Governor and the Council were to be bound by the votes of the majority of those members Present at a sitting. (D) A supreme court of Justic was established at Calcutta, and the Chief Justice was appcinted directly from England. Its jurisdiction was over all British subjects under the protection of the Company in India. The defects of the Act were : (A) The third Provision made it possible for the Governor-General to be checkmated whenever three of his Council chose to combine against him. This really occurred; three of the councillors were bitter personal enemies of Hasting (B) The fourth provision was obscurely worded and led to much confusion; it made the mistake of applying English Lawfully to Indian conditions.

At the first siiting of the Governor-General in Council, friction arose. Three out of the four members were bent on driving Hastings out of office. They were rooted enemies of his; and, when the investigation of civil abuses began, they attcked Hastings with personal charges. Despite the great bitterness that set in, Hasting carried out his duty. But he was much hindered. The disunion became known to Nunkumar, a wealthy Brahmin, who hated Hastings. He accused the latter of bribery. Hastings was acquitted, and in turn charged Nunkumar with conspiracy. Nunkumar was acquitted. But at this juncture, Morhan Parshad, a solicitor; on behalf of an Indian client, charged Nunkumar with forgery. The charge had been framed before Nunkumar's quarrel with Hastings who had nothing to do with the accusation. Nunkumar was tried in the Supreme Court before Sir Elijah Impey and two other Judges and a Jury. The Jury found him guilty and he was hanged. The Records show that the trial was fair. None of the Council strove to save Nunkumar. This would have been done if Hastings had been at the bottom of the charge. It is false to assert that Nunkumar's death was a judicial murder.

From 1778-1782 pressing financial and political difficulties troubled Hastings. In 1778, France joined America in the War against England. Preparations for a possible French invasion had to be made and cost heavily. Warren Hastings seized all the French settlements on the sea-board. A French squadron came out to India under Admiral de Suffren, and had to harbour at Trincomali in Ceylon, What this fleet did, and what happened on sea in the West, are described in the chapter on Sea-power and India. The situation at sea was one of anxiety to Warren Hastings. On land, the situation was even more worrying. Both Haidar Ali and the Marathas intrigued with the French. For this and other causes, the second Mysore War was fought against Haidar Ali and the first Maratha War against Madhavrao II. The Mysore War is dealt with in a succeeding chapter. The Maratha War has been treated of in the reign of Madhavrao II.

But, at this time, the Company's finances were very low and forced Hastings into two disagreeable incidents.

(*a*) The affair with Chait Singh : The Raja of Benares, though illegitimate, had been raised to his position by Hastings.

Asaf-ud dulah, his predecessor, had agreed by the treaty of Benares to pay the Company twenty-two and a half lakhs annually for the protection of his State. Hastings now demanded five lakhs more and a 1000 horse to defend Bihar. Chait Singh had the men and the money, but refused both. Hastings needed both; and, as it was the recognised usage for a vassal State to support the ruling power in times of stress, the refusal looked like rebellion. Hastings angrily went to Benares with a small escort and arrested Chait Singh. But his people rose, cut the escort to pieces, and made Hastings flee for his life to the fort of Chunnar. Colonel Popham came to his rescue and occupied Benares. Chait Singh fled to the Marathas; his successor was appointed; the revenue to be paid was increased to fifty lakhs a year and the State's coin-making, with its civil and criminal jurisdiction, was taken over by the Company.

(*b*) The affair with the Begums of Oudh:

In 1774 on the death of Shuja-ud-daulah, Asaf, his son, agreed to pay twenty-two and a half lakhs for the support of a British force in Oudh, and to give the Begums i.e., the mother and widow of Shuja, two crores of rupees. The Begums had to pay thirty laksh to the Company for this protection of their property. But Asaf was not able to fulfil his contract. He said he could do so if he got back the two crores given to the Begums. Hastings had been forced by the Council to bind Asaf to the contract; he was aware, too, of the secret help in money which the Begums had given Chait Singh to aid in his revolt; he wanted money, as the Directors of the Company pressed for the increase of financial sources. Hastings decided on getting for Asaf what

he could of the Begums' treasure. The Begums were forced to yield seventy-six lakhs Coercion was employed, but such, as. Indian opinion of the day, considered mild. Neither the Begums nor their attendants were mishandled. The fact is recorded that, when Hastings on his return was impeached, and this affair was brought up against his honour, the Begums, of their own accord, sent since retestimony in his favour.

William Pitt, the Prime Minister, disapproved of several features in the administration of India by the Company, and drew up a Bill which became law in India. Its main points were: (A) A Board of Control appointed by the Crown was to manage the political affairs of the Company in India. It was held responsible to Parliament. (B) Under its control also came a Board of Directors who were to manage the commercial affairs of the Company. (C) Without the consent of the Board of Control, the Governor-General was not to interfere with the affairs of Indian States. No scheme of conquest or extension of dominion was to be pursued. (D) The Govenor-General could in an emergency overrule the decision of his Council and act upon his own conviction. (E) The Commander-in-chief and two civilians were added as members of the Council.

The effects of the Bill were: (A) To bring the Company still more under the control of Parliament. (B) The independent position of the Governor over his Council remedied a serious defect of the Regulating Act. (C) The policy of non-intervention was emphasised.

Hastings, feeling that his position was misunderstood both in England and in India, resigned in 1785. On his return, he was impeached over the Rohillas, Chait Singh and the Begums but was honourably acquitted and made a Marquess. His impeachment lasted for seven years and was a gross injustice to a man, who, despite the greatest difficulties on all sides, had brought the British position in India safely through one of the crises in British history.

LORD CORNWALLIS

Load Cornwallis, who succeeded Warren Hasting, was the first Governor-General appointed by Parliament. He was a distinguished soldier, though compelled to surrender York Town in the American War of Independence. But he had never been in India before. Still he had greater advantages to start with Hastings had. His social rank and his European reputation freed him from the petty jealousy that assailed one who, like Hastings, had risen to high office from lowly beginnings. Moreover, Pitt's India Bill gave him independent power over his Council. He was trusted by the Ministry in England; and this gave him authority in every department of the Indian administration. He was Governor-General over all three Presidencies, and was also Commander-in-chief. He had all the powers of genuine rulership, and was rather the proconsul of Parliament in India than the chief governor of a trading company. During his term of office, the political sky was one of cloudy stillness before the burst of the French Revolutionary cyclone in Europe. Such a spell of quiet suited the carrying out of the ground-plan of reform laid down by Hastings. Internal organisation went on. Political insecurity within British territory yielded to a sense of stable rule. The British now ranked among the chief Powers of India, but, as yet, made no assertion of dominance.

Neither in talent nor in culture was he as brilliant and refined as Hastings was. He had great strength of will, was fearless, upright and high-minded; and singularly free from greed of money, bitterly opposed to bribery and jobbery of any kind. He was a hard-worker, and, a public-spirited, though somewhat obstinate ruler. By temperament, he was more of a soldier than an administrator.

His purpose was to go on with and to improve the many reforms begun by Hastings, and to carry out the policy of non-intervention laid down by Pitt's Bill. He had seen enough of warfare to make him seek peace. Important reforms were carried out. But instead of unbroken peace, he

found war. Before leaving India, he crippled the power of Tippu, and extended the Madras Presidency by annexing half of that Sultan's dominions.

His rooted distrust of Indian officials led him to exclude them from any responsible position.

Reforms:—(*a*) The reforms in the Revenue Department begun by Hastings were made more stable by the creation of the Indian Civil Service. Its officers were to the receive fixed salaries, and were not to accept trade commissions or trade profits. Revenue officers were not to meddle any longer with judicial matters.

(*b*) In the Judical Department, he appointed a Judge of the civil court to each district, Over these were provincial courts in the principal towns; and over these again were the two Supreme Courts, civil and criminal, at Calcutta. He did away with many of the crude punishments inflcted by the rude simplicity of the Mogul Law. Zemindars lost their power over the courts and over the Police, but could collect their own revenues. The Police were brought under suitable control.

(*c*) He introduced the Permanent Revenue Settlement. As India is mainly agricultural, the chief source of Revenue was and is the Land Tax. From the earliest times, agents of the ruling power were appointed to collect the revenue. Their office became hereditary; but no fixed system of collecting revenue was ever fully adopted. When the Mogul Empire fell to pieces, the descendants of collectors of revenue set themselves up as Rajas and Zemindars over the districts in which they had the hereditary right to collect revenue. Warren Hastings did not acknowledge such claims, but farmed the Company's land out on lease to the highest bidder for five years. This system proved harmful; for, owing to the shortness of the lease, no temporary owner improved the land he had bargained for; if improved, he had to pay a higher bid for it at the next auction, should he wish to keep the land. Thus

the land suffered for the want of a permanent owner and the Revenue lessened.

The Board of Directors disliked the farming out of land on lease introduced by Warren Hastings, because it was an unstable policy. They decided on restoring the older system of granting the lands to the Zemindars. These had in return to pay a fixed revenue. The Directors were not seeking an increase in the annual revenue. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, made no fresh survey of the land; but calculated the revenue then to be paid, by taking the average of the amount of revenue collected in preceding years. A fixed average was found; and this average was to remain for ever as the permanent revenue to be paid in. His scheme is known as the Permanent Revenue Settlement.

Lord Cornwallis, relying on his English experience firmly believed that this scheme would help to form an ideal class of landlords eager to develop and enrich their States and improve the lot of their tenants. But those, who did really gain, were the Zemindars. Those who lost most were, first, the cultivating class of tenants, who came more under the control of the Zemindar, as no fixed rate of rent was settled on their behalf; secondly, the Government, whose financial loss has been enormous. At present, it is not less than thirty millson rupees a year. In consequence, the rest of India is more heavily taxed.

(*d*) Lord Cornwallis was drawn into war with Tippu Sultan of Mysore because of the Sultan's attack on Travancore. Half of the Sultan's dominions were annexed, This was the second great step in the formation of the Madras Presidency. This war is more fully treated of in the following chapter.

In 1793, when the War of the French Revolution began, Lord Cornwallis ordered the disarming of the French settlements in the South, and left from Madras for England; he was made a Marquess.

SIR JOHN SHORE

Sir John Shore, a high official in the Company, assumed office. He attempted to carry out the non-intervention policy to the letter. When this became known, Nana Farnavis, at the head of the Maratha chiefs, took the Nizam of Haidarabad to task for not having paid chauth for years. The Nizam, though an ally of the British, appealed to Sir John in vain. Sir John did not want to protect the Nizam at the risk of offending the Marathas, who might pay him back by a league with Tippu. His caution proved to be mistaken. The Nizam was badly defeated at Kharda or Kurdla, lost half of his dominions, and was fined a crore of rupees. This set the Nizam against the British, emboldened the Marathas, and encouraged Tippu of Mysore to plan his last attempt to expel the British out of India altogether. Thus the policy of Sir John imperilled the position of the British in India. His adhering to non-intervention only banded the Nizam, Tippu and the Marathas together. All these Powers employed French officers, who trained and led their armies. Naturally, these officers fostered ill-feeling against the British. The War of the French Revolution was going on in Europe. In India the Nizam. Tippu of Mysore, and the Marathas under Madhavrao II were intriguing with the French for the overthrow of British Power.

But Sir John had learned a lesson. So, when, in 1797, Asaf-ud-daulah, Nawab of Oudh, died, and Vazir Ali an impostor seized the throne, and Saadat Ali, the Nawab's brother, appealed to Sir John, Sir John intervened, and placed Saadat Ali on the throne and in return received Allahabad, an important strategic centre, and twenty six lakhs yearly towards the up-keep of a protecting force in Oudh.

Then Sir John retired, and died known as Baron Teignmouth.

3

The Acquisition Expands

THE MARQUESS OF WELLESLEY

Under the Marquess of Wellesley, there was a great and rapid extension in the British occupation of India. His policy brought that about.

Perhaps there never was a Governor-General better informed about Indian government than the Marquess of Wellesley. For many years he had been a member of the Board of Control. He was a man of vast learning, whose views were broad but imperialistic. His firm grasp of Indian politics made him self-reliant, even intolerant. He had little respect for the Board of Control. His foresight never misled him. In his choice of officers, both military and civil, he proved wise; he trusted them without reserve. He possessed sterling integrity of character, a firm will, a generous and cultured nature. His gifts made him more of a statesman than an administrator. By reason of his rank, his family position and political experience in Europe, he was better able than Hastings to deal with the greater and more subtle aspects of policy.

When he assumed office, peril faced the Company both on land and on the sea. On land, Sir John Shore's policy had

bred strife. Tippu of Mysore had ripened his hostile designs, and was supported by French influence. It was the same with the Marathas. The Nizam had grown into a sullen foe. The Carnatic was in complete disorder. Under Ranjit Singh, the Sikhs had become a nation of warriors and were not over friendly. Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler of the Punjab, was in league with Tippu.

The Nizam, Tippu, and the Marathas sought French help in order to drive the British out of India. Though they knew too little of European geography, of its history, and of its actual politics to realise what the French could do for them, danger lay in this : that their attitude was fostered chiefly by Napoleon, who openly ambitioned the overthrow of the British in India.

The War of the French Revolution was raging. Hence, at sea, an attack on India was expected from Napoleon, who was then in Egypt. He could cross over from Arabia and land on the western coast of India; and, with a fleet gathered from the French islands in Eastern waters and with his army, attack the British and support the Indian Poweres against them. What happend to him in Egypt, and how his subsequent plan was foiled, have been described in the chapter on sea-power and India. British sea-power dealt him two severe blows and thus protected India from his designs.

Into European politics India had been drawn. Her destiny lay either under French Rule or that of the British. Wellesley was fitted, as few could have been, to meet the situation. His training enabled him to grasp the relationship between Indian politics and the issues of the French War of Revolution. It led him to adopt a policy based not so much upon the situation in the country as upon the destruction of French designs on India.

His policy had a twofold purpose. It aimed first at making the British power supreme by a system of political alliance and of annexation so that, secondly, Napoleon's

ambition to overthrow the British in India should become impossible. The first aim was means to the second. The second was what he determined on securing.

His system of political alliance is known as the Subsidiary. It lay in this. A State, whether willing or not, was asked if it would accept British alliance, subsidise a British force for its protection within its own boundaries, and accept a Resident at its court to control its policy. This meant subservience to the British; and, hence, the actual loss of its political independence though seemingly free.

His policy of annexation was applied to those States which were suffering under misgovernment. No man was more firmly convinced than Wellesley that India would prosper best if under British rule. Whatever may be thought of this view, the fact is that previous to the British, India throve most when it was under a single central power.

In carrying out his policy, Wellesley was fortunate in having excellent officers to help him. His two brothers were in the South : Arthur, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, and Henry Lord Cowley, who, later on, held high political office in Europe. Among other distinguished officers were Elphinstone and Malcolm.

His policy of subsidiary alliance was first applied to the Nizam, then to Tippu of Mysore, and was followed by the annexation of Tanjore, the Ceded Districts, the Carnatic, Surat and a large portion of Oudh; finally it was applied to the Peshwa of Poona, the Rajputs and the Gaekwar of Baroda. The result was that the British power became dominant in India. But his policy was by no means approved of by the Board of Control, or by all of those who served under him in India. His brother Arthur, it is said, pervented the entire annexation of Haidarabad and Mysore. Wellesley's own attempt to make his policy agree with Pitt's India Bill was unsatsfactory. He was recalled to prevent any further application his policy.

Subsidiary Alliances were made in the following cases :

(*a*) *The Nizam* :—Wellesley resolved to break down the influence of the French in the South where it was most powerful. He began with the Nizam. The latter had been estranged by Shore's failure to help him against the Marathas, and had reorgenised his army under the guidance of Raymond, a French officer. Raymond died at this critical moment. Through skilful diplomacy and shrewd military display, the Nizam's army of 14,000 men with it train of artillery, was, in a few hours, and, without the loss of life, disarmed and disbanded by Malcolm. The Nizam accepted a subsidiary aliance and was made dependent on the Company.

(*b*) *Tippu of Mysore* :—Tippu was called on to explain his dealings with the French. He had despatched a mission to Mauritius proposing an offensive and defensive alliance against the British. Napoleon, who was then in Egypt, and fostered the ambition of driving the British out of India, had readily cmmunicated with Tippu, telling the latter of the keen desire he had of freeing him from their "iron yoke." As the British and the French were at war in Europe, Wellesley, with the approval of the Board of Control, called on Tippu to discontinue his alliance with the French and to enter into subsidiary alliance with the British. His reply was evasive and scornful. War was declared and carried on with lightning rapidity.

Most of the Mysore territory was annexed. The Hindu Wodeyar Dynasty was restored and the State became subsidiary to the Company. This war with Tippu is described in the follwing chapter.

(*c*) In 1799, Maratha chiefs such as the Peshwa, Daulat Scindia, Jaswant Rao Holkar, and the Raja of Kolhapur were politically at strife. When Nana Farnavis died in 1800, matters grew worse; and, in 1802, fighting began. Jaswant Rao Holker defeated the Peshwa at Poona. The latter asked for British protection and accepted Wellesley's subsidiary alliance, called the Treaty of Bassein. This treaty

led Daulat Scindia and the Raja of Berar to declare war against Wellesley. They were defeated and accepted the subsidiary alliance of Surji-Anjungoan and of Deogoan. This war has been more fully treated of in the Maratha period under the reign of Baji Rao II.

(*d*) The Rajputs, impressed by Wellesley's victory and fearing Maratha aggression, accepted a subsidiary alliance, and ceded parts of their territory in return for protection.

(*e*) The Gaekwar of Baroda also accepted a subsidiary alliance, and ceded certain districts in his territory for the maintenance of a protecting British force.

Annexations produced the following results :

(*a*) Tanjore, a Maratha State founded in 1640 by Shahji Bhonsle, had fallen into disorder. On the death of its Raja, dispute arose as to the succession. Wellesley persuaded the rightful heir to resign and receive a pension, and to hand over the State to the Company.

(*b*) *Surat* :—The district of Surat had long been controlled by the British and the Nawab. When the Nawab died in 1799, it was annexed,

(*c*) *The Ceded Districts* :—The districts of Bellary, Cuddapah, Anatapur, and Kurnool, given to the Nizam in 1792 for his aid in the 3rd Mysore War, were now ceded by him support a British subsidiary force.

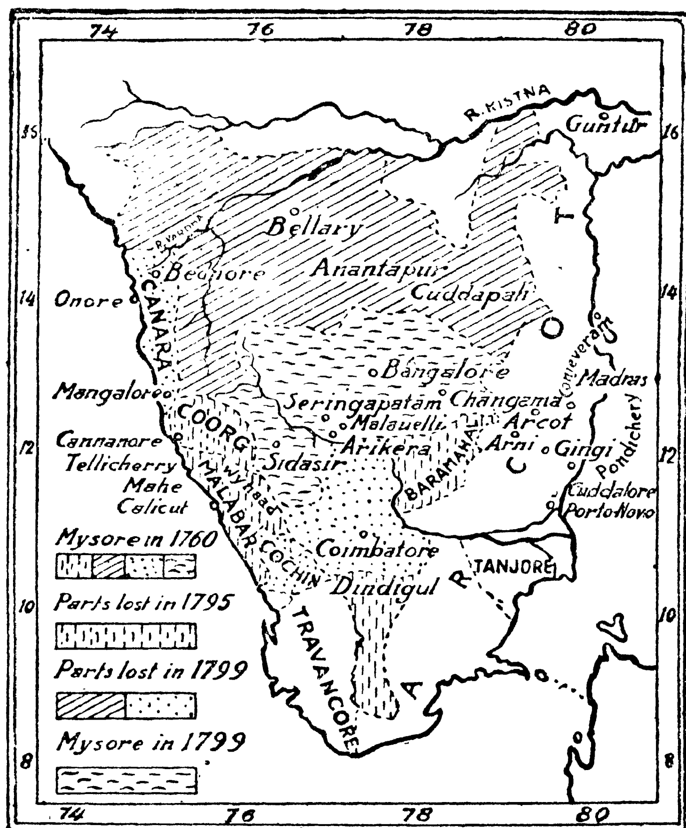
(*d*) *The Carnatic* :—Mohamed Ali, the aged Nawab of the Carnatic, died in 1795. The system of double government had spread misery throughout his territory. Umdal-ul-Umra, his successor, had intrigued secretly with Trippu. Wellesely deposed him, appointed a grandson of Mohamed Ali as a nominal success or, and took over the administration of the Carnatic.

(*e*) *Oudh* :—In the north, the annexation of half the province of Oudh followed next. It was feared that Zaman

Shah, the Afghan ruler of the Punjab, might raid Oudh. Saadat Ali, the Nawab of Oudh, had no suitable army command. He was called upon to reform his army and to improve the grovernment of his province. The Nawab tried to evade compulsion. Wellesley, by the Treaty of Lucknow, annexed a part of his territory, including Gorakpur and Rohilkhand the territory betwern the Ganges and the Jumna.

Reforms, under Wellesley, chiefly lay in re-organising the administration of those states which had been annexed. In spite of his costly wars, Wellesley brought finance into ordar, and bettered the public credit. He founded a college at Fort William for the training of young Civil Servants, and built the Government House at Calcutta.

The seven years of his Governor-Generalship form the most improtant and critical period in the building up of British dominion in India on the basis laid by Clive and Warren Hastings. He had set out for India in the darkest hour of the intense struggle between the British and the French in the War of Revolution. On his reaching India, the Government stood halting between a policy of non-intervention in India quarrels which confined its control to British limits, and a policy of going forward to meet and disarm rivals before their strength could destroy British security. Wellesley thought it idle to rely on the strength of treaties with Tippu., the Marathas and the Nizam. He adopted the policy of going forward and defeating opposition before French intrigue could grow more dangerous. In this he succeded. In the north, he extended British territory from Bengal to the upper course of the Jumna; in the south-east, by securing Cuttack he linked up Bengal with the Madras Presidency; in the west, the acquisition of territory, that he obtained, strengthened the British command over the whole coast-line. Within the next forty years, his successors in office completed his plans for dominion in India.



74
76
78
80
R. KISTNA
Guntur
Bellary
Bednore
Anantapur
Cuddapah
Onore
CANARA
Bangalore
Madras
Conjeveram
Mangalore
Seringapatam
Changama
COORG
Malavelli
Arcot
Cannanore
Arikera
Arni
Gingi
Tellicherry
Sidasir
Pondichery
Mahe
Wynaad
MALABAR
BARAMAHAL
Cuddalore
Calicut
Porto Novo
Mysore in 1760
COCHIN
Coimbatore
TANJORE
Parts lost in 1795
Dindigul
TRAVANCORE
Parts lost in 1799
Mysore in 1799

4

The British Conflict with Mysore

In the middle ages, Mysore was the Hoysala Kingdom, a part of the Vijayanagar Empire; but when in 1565, this Empire broke up, Mysore passed under the rule of the Hindu Wodeyar Dynasty. This Dynasty lost its vigour towards the middle of the eighteenth century. Its weakness gave the throne to Haidar Ali.

HAIDAR ALI

Haidar Ali was the son of Fateh Mohamed, a soldier of fortune, who fought for the Mogul Emperor against Sadat Ulla Khan, the Nawab of Arcot. As Sadat Ulla Khan staved off defeat, he confiscated the wealth of Fateh Mohamed and turned his widow and his two sons adrif. They went to Mysore. Both sons became officers in the Mysore service and, of the two, Haidar distinguished himself more. His own small army was better equipped than that of the Raja of Mysore. He won the influence of Nanjaraj, the chief minister, and was appointed commander of Dindigul. Later on, he received the jagir of Bangalore, and became commander-in-chief. In 1761 more than half of Mysore came under his direct control. An effort to break his power failed. He captured Bednore, then a rich town; and, when the Raja died, plundered the capital and finally usurped the throne.

From 1762 to 1766 Haidar Ali had waged war against Madhavrao I and had been defeated. This campaign has been narrated under the reign of Madhavrao I.

The First Mysore War

In 1767, Haidar encroached upon the neighbouring districts of the Nizam and of the Marathas. The British found he was intriguing with the French. So the British, the Nizam, and the Marathas combined against him.

Haidar bought off the Marathas, bribed the Nizam and thus isolated the British. He attacked Colonel Smith at Changama but was repulsed and defeated at Trincomalee.

The Nizam, fearing the British, deserted Haidar and surrendered the Northern Circars. Haidar again attacked Colonel Smith at Ambur but had to retire. Receiving help from Bombay, Colonel Smith seized Mangalore and Onore. One defeat after another cost Haidar half of his possessions; but he rallied and defeated the British at Bangalore, recovered his lost territory and surrounded Madras. The Council at Madras was panic-stticken, and proposed the treaty of Madras. Both parties restored their conquests and agreed to assist each other in defensive wars. In this treaty, the Marathas were also included as an ally of Mysors and the British. The treaty proved to be a silly agreement, as was seen in the reign of Madhavrao I.

Within a year of the signing of the treaty of Madras, Haidar and the Marathas fell out with each other. This contest has been described during the reign of Madhavrao I.

By the Treaty of Madras, in 1769, the British had promised to help him in a defensive war. Haidar asked for help but was refused, as the Marathas also claimed British help and were equally keen on proving that Haidar was the aggressor. So the British in this quarrel remained neutral. The contest that followed between Haidar Ali and the Marathas

has been described under the reign of Madhavrao I. Haidar Ali was utterly defeated.

The Second Mysore War

Haidar Ali burned to take his revenge upon the British for having failed to support him against the Marathas during the campaign of 1769 to 1772.

His opportunity came. In 1778, France sided with America against England. Hastings, acting under orders from England and against the advice of the Madras Council, took the French port of Mahe on the Malabar Coast. It was a useful port to Haidar; for, through it, he received French supplies. He joined in a coalition with the Nizam and the Marathas to drive the British out. At this time the First Maratha War was being fought by the British.

Haidar Ali swept down upon the Carnatic plain through the pass of Changama and took Conjeeveram. His son Tippu cut to pieces a British force under Colonel Baillie at Pollilore. Haidar captured Vellore.

Hastings, who had not sufficiently believed the Madras Council in its warning about Haidar, had now to save the Carnatic. He pacified the Nizam by restoring Guntur, bribed the Raja of Berar to allow troops to pass through his territory, and despatched to the South a force by sea under Sir Eyre Coote and another by land under Colonel Pearse.

Sir Eyre Coote overcame Haidar at Porto Novo. Colonel Pearse defeated him at Pollilore, Sholingar and Tellichery.

A French sea-force under Admiral de Suffren now came to Haidar's help; but in spite of it he was badly defeated at Arni. Haidar died that year.

It must be borne in mind that, the second Mysore War coincided with the first Maratha War. The latter ended before

Haidar's death; and, by the treaty of Salbai, the Marathas not only withdrew from the side of Haidar, but agreed to force him to restore his conquests to the British and to the Nawab of the Carnatic. This left Tippu, the son of Haidar, the choice either to make peace or to fight on alone. He fought on alone, and won the battles of Bednore and Mangalore.

The British seized Dindigul, Palghat and Coimbatore. Sir Eyre Coote died at this juncture. Colonel Fullerton took over charge, and was on his way to attack Tippu at Seringapatam, when Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, against the wish of Hastings, proposed peace to Tippu.

The Treaty of Mangalore :—By this treaty, all the conquests made by either party during the war were mutually restored, and all prisoners were to be freed.

Tippu

The war had ended in dishonour to the British. Tippu did not free all his captives and grew more insolent. He continued to intrigue with the French against the British. For this purpose, he sent an embassy to the court of Louis XVI in Paris at a moment when the political relationship between France and England was strained. He also asked the Sultan of Turkey for aid. In India, however, his arrogance made enemies all round.

The growth of Tippu's ambition alarmed the Nizam and the Marathas; and, acting under the advice of Nana Farnavis, they combined to despoil Tippu of his power. This Maratha campaign has been described during the reign of Madhavrao II. It lasted from 1786 to 1787. Tippu offered peace.

The Third Mysore War

When Lord Cornwallis landed in India in 1786, he was asked by the Nizam of Haidarabad for protection against Tippu. His guarded reply promised help against a foe, who

was not an ally. On hearing of this reply, Tippu realised that he was indirectly meant. He was not an ally of the British. His attitude towards them, therefore, grew more defiant. Though Tippu had been defeated by the Marathas in 1787 and had soon made peace, the real motive he had, in making that peace so soon, was not his fear of the Nizam or of the Marathas; he dreaded and hated the British most of all. This led him to intrigue with the French; and, believing that French supplies would soon reach him, he had concluded that the possession of Travancore would enable him to receive French supplies more safely. He attacked Travancore in 1789, but was repulsed. The Raja of Travancore was an ally of the British. The Nizam and the Marathas, who hated Tippu, now combined with the British, and the third Mysore war began. The Marathas not only wanted, to recover all the territory between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, which Haidar had re-conquered from them in 1764, but they also aimed at annexing the whole of Mysore. But the British and the Nizam insisted that, if victorious against Tippu, his conquered territory should be shared satisfactorily.

Dharwar was the capital of the territory the Marathas wanted to re-gain. Their army took Dharwar in 1791. They then crossed the Tungabhadra, re-took Sira and marched on to Mailghat.

In the meantime, severe fighting had taken place between the British and Tippu. General Medows took Dindigul. A force from Bombay took Malabar. Lord Cornwallis captured Bangalore, and defeated Tippu at Arilkera nine miles from Seringapatam, the capital. But this gain was of no avail as supplies failed. Cornwallis and he had to retire to Bangalore. The dispirited British, while returning to Bengalore, met the Marathas at Mailghat. There they were joined by the Nizam. When all was ready, these three concentrated their forces on Seringapatam.

The Treaty of Seringapatam:—Tippu had to cede half of his dominions, pay three croes of rupees, and give up his two

sons as hostages. In dividing his territory, the British got Malabar, Baramahal, Tellichery, Dindigul and Coorg; the Nizam obtained Gooti and Cuddapah, and recovered all his former possessions, north of the Tungabhadra; the Marathas re-gained their lost territory between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna rivers. and also received Bellary.

This Treaty marked the second stage in the formation of the Madras Presidency.

The Fourth Mysore War

Tippu thirsted for revenge. He made up his mind to drive the British out of India, and took to plotting. Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler of the Punjab, received an embassy from him, asking for aid. The French Governor of Mauritius formed an offensive and defensive alliance with him. French officers arrived to train his army. Napoleon treated him as a citizen of the new Republic, and wrote saying that, as he was in Egypt, he would soon invade India and expel the British.

As the British and the French were at war in Europe, Wellesley, with the approval of the Board of Control, called on Tippu to discontinue his alliance with the French and to enter into subsidiary alliance. Tippu refused. The Nizam and the Marathas were called upon by Wellesley to help him in destroying Tippu's power, once and for all. But the Marathas, fearing that the overthrow of Tippu would be to their weakening, remained neutral. The Nizam gave assistance.

The War ended quickly. General Harris set out from Madras, and General Stuart from Malabar. Tippu was defeated at Sedasir by Stuart, and at Malavelli by Harris. During the siege of Seringapatam, Tippu fell fighting.

Tippu's two sons were pensioned and sent to Vellore. The ancient Wodeyar Dynasty was restored under the control of a Resident. The British received Canara, Coimbatore, and the Wynaad. The Nizam received a large tract of territory afterwards known as the Ceded Districts. The Madras Presidency was now completed.

After the Fourth Mysore War, the administration of the State was left to Purnia, an able Brahmin minister, till the Prince of Wodeyar should come of age. The Raja assumed control of the State in 1811; but he was so incapable of his trust that in 1831, Lord Bentinck placed the State under British administration. This lasted for fifty years. Lord Ripon restored the Wodeyar family to power. Since then the State has prospered excellently.

Haidar Ali and Tippu

Haidar Ali was a fieree, bold adventurer, whose rugged gifts raised him easily above his rivals and won great power for him amid the turmoil in India during the eighteenth century. He could neither read nor write; but he spoke five Indian languages fluently. His memory was extraordinary. Few equalled him in complicated arithmetical calculations. He was a very shrewd and accurate judge of character. In ruling his State, he was methodical and swift in despatch of business, and supervised in detail every act of government. But he believed in terrorism, and flogged high officials and even his own son in public.

With no principles in religion or in politics, he lived and fought for his ambition with open selfishness. The close of his life was overcast with sadness. He foresaw he had failed against the British, and bitterly resented his desertion in the hour of need by the Nizam and the Marathas. French aid had come too late. Not long before his death he said : "I have committed a great error. Between me and the English, there were grounds for dissatisfaction but not for war. I might have made them my friends. I could have ruined them by land but I could never have dried up the sea."

Tippu, though cleverer than Haidar, was far inferior in character. He was extremely vain, and wanted everything of importance to originate through him. His whims and fancies made it difficult to deal with him. He was well educated for his time spoke Persian, Urdu and Kanarese fluently, and

possessed a valuable library. He wrote instructions on all civil and military topics, devised a new Calendar, and a new scale of weights, and a fantastic coinage. Though very cruel to enemies and prisoners, he was not too harsh with his own people. He was a staunch Mohamedan. Though personally brave, he was not so good a general as Haidar.

5

The Acquisition Continues

The conflict between the British and the Sultans of Mysore had ended in a vast acquisition of territory by the British. Almost the whole of India, south of the Tungabhadra, was theirs. The Madras Presidency had been formed and had been linked to Bengal by the Marquess of Wellesley, who, through the second Maratha war, obtained Cuttack and Balasore from the Raja of Berar. In the north, British territory had been extended from Bengal to the upper course of the Jumna. Half of Oudh had also been annexed. Politically, the British were paramount in India. Most Indian States of importance were subsidiary allies of the British, and, therefore, politically dependent. The exceptions were the State of Nepal, the Province of Sindh, the Punjab, and the Maratha State of Indore.

Events in this chapter reveal a fuller acquisition of political influence and of the terriotry, by the British. French intrigue finally ceased; Nepal waged war, lost territory, and became an ally: Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Chief of Indore, aided by other Maratha chiefs, entered upon the fourth Maratha war; he was defeated and became a subsidiary ally; the Maratha power was overthrown, and the Bombay Presidency was formed.

LORD CORNWALLIS

Lord Cornwallis again came out as Governor-General. He was quite an old man. The burden of office was beyond his strength. Yet, with characteristic energy, he began to reverse Wellesley's policy. But he died within a few months.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW

Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Governor-General's Council, succeeded Lord Cornwallis. Though capable of enough to fill an inferior office, he did not suit his high position. His views were narrow. Nor was he at all liked. He carried out a non-intervention policy. He promised the Marathas not to support the Rajputs if the latter were attacked. This promise betrayed a staunch ally. General Lake protested in vain against it and resigned.

Sir John Craddock, the commander-in-chief, with the consent of Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, introduced several changes in the army regulations. On parade sepoys were not to wear earrings or caste-marks; they had to shave their chins and trim their beards after a certain model; no turbands were to be worn, but a head-dress, somewhat like a hat. At Vellore, a rumour spread that sepoys would soon be forced to become Christians. Most of the sepoys belonged to Mysore. The members of Tippu's family fomented the discotent. Mutiny broke out, and several British officers and soldiers were killed. It was soon quelled. The ring-leaders were executed; the members to Tippu's family were sent to Calcutta, and the regulations were withdrawn.

When Lord Minto became Governor-General Sir George Barlow again became a member of the Bengal Council; but he was soon after appointed Governor of Madras.

LORD MINTO

Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control, accepted the Governor-Generalship reluctantly. He had much Parliamentary experience, and was well-acquainted with Indian

affairs. He followed a middle way between interference and non-interference in dealing with Indian States. But the result of his rule in India finally convinced the Board of Control that the policy of non-intervention could not always he adhered to. His firm attitude towards Ranjit Singh carried the British frontier up to the Sutlej, and secured peace there for thirty years.

(*a*) *Bundelkhand*:—Anarchy prevailed there. Robber chiefs, such as Amir Khan the Pathan, raided the province. They threatened adjoining British territory. After four years of struggle, order was restored by the capture of the Kalingar fortress.

(*b*) *Dealing with the Sikhs*:—Between the Sutlej and the Jumna lay Sarhind, a province occupied by Sikh chieftains. They quarrelled amongst themselves and the Chief of Jind asked Ranjit Singh for aid. The latter, who was the most powerful of the Sikhs and the ruler of the Punjab, gave that aid and occupied Ludhiana, and claimed rulership over Sarhind. The chiefs, fearing him, asked helf of the British. A mission under Mr. Metacalfe was sent. Ranjit Singh agreed to retire. Sarhind came under British protection, and a British force was stationed at Ludhiana. British influence thus extended from the Jumna as far as the Sutlej. This agreement is known as the treaty of Amritsar.

(*c*) *Travancore*:—The Raja declared himself unable to pay for the British Sub-sidiary force in his territory. The Resident suspectee Velu Tempi, the chief minister, of instigating the Raja, and had him removed. Velu Tempi rebelled, and murdered those British who fell into his hands. The rebellion was put down, and the State was ruled by the British till 1813, when it was returned to the Raja.

In his foreign policy Lord Minto was most successful. England was at war with Napoleon. Lord Minto's term of office coincided with the critical years of the Peninsular War and of Napoleon's invasion of Russia. The triumph of Napoleon in Europe was lessened by losses to France in the

East. Mauritius and the Bourbon Isles, the Isles of France and the Moluccas were seized by British expeditions under Lord Minto's guidance. This rid Eastern seas of French privateers, who had often raided British commerce. East of the Cape of Good Hope, the British had no rival left. The Dutch had sided with the French against the British. They lost Java and the Spice Islands. These islands were restored to the Dutch in 1815. In the meanwhile, Napoleon did his best to combine Asiatic nations against the British. An account of this intrigue has been given in the chapter on Sea-power and India.

Lord Minto sent political missions into Persia and Afghanistan to counteract French influence at work there. Though little fruit resulted from these missions, his over-sea conquests broke French political power in the East. British sea-power achieved this. It was the fourth and the last telling blow that the British gave Napoleon at sea.

By the Charter of 1813, Parliament threw open Indian trade to the whole nation, but left to the East India Company the monopoly of trade with China. Missionaries were free to enter British India.

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS

Francis Rawdon Hastings, Baron Rawdon in the peerage of Great Britain and Earl of Moira in the peerage of Ireland, sprang from two of the most ancient noble families of the United Kingdom. During his early life he served in the American War of Independence; but, after that he grew extravagant and dissipated. His close friendship with the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV, did him no honour. So, when at the age of fifty-nine he came to India, it was not probable he would do much. He became, however, one of the prominent Governors-General. He worked very hard at the head of the civil and military administration, never went to the hills and was always at his desk at four in the morning.

He found that the non-intervention policy of Lord

Cornwallis, and that of Sir George Barlow, had left seven different quarrels likely to demand the decision of Arms. By following the policy of the Marquess of Wellesley, he firmly established British Power as dominant in India.

He saw the need of protecting the trade route between India and China, and occupied Singapore in 1819. It was then a poor island inhabited by a handful of Malay fishermen. Singapore has proved to be an acquisition of utmost value to the Empire.

Not only was he successful as a soldier, but also as a ruler. To educate the people of India, he established schools and colleges. endeavoured to have English taught, and permitted the issue of the first vernacular newspapers. The financial position of the Company was improved. The Jumna Canal, first built by Feroze Shah in 1356, was reopened. Warfare, however, characterises his term of office.

(*a*) *The Nepalese War*:—The Gurkhas, a Rajput race, had conquered the valley of Nepal in 1768 and, having extended their sway from Bhutan to the Sutlej, forced the Nawab of Oudh to cede the district of Gorakpur. This brought British territory into contact with theirs. The Gurkhas frequently raided British territory. They finally seized two large British districts north of Oudh, and overran Butwal and Sheoraj. As they refused to yield these territories, and wanted to extend their power down to the Ganges, war began.

Hastings sent four divisions by different routes into Nepal. Had the Governor-General's orders been obeyed, success would have followed more quickly. But three of the four generals were self-willed, incapable leaders. The early operations met with disaster. General Ochterlony saved the situation. He defeated the Nepalese at Malaon, Jutah, Kumaoun and Mahwanpur. Almora and the fortress of Hariharpur were, captured. Kathmandu, the capital, was threatened. The Nepalese sued for peace.

Treaty of Sagauli:—The Nepalese ceded the territory between the Gogra and the Sutlej; the Tarai; the provinces of Gharwal and Kumaoun and Dehra Dun; and agreed to receive a British Resident at Kathmandu. The political advantages of the treaty were, that all danger from the N.E. Frontier was removed, and a staunch ally was gained. Nepal retained its independence. Hence the British Resident does not interfere with its internal administration. He is restricted in his movements. Without permission Europeans are not allowed to enter its territory. This permission is rarely granted Friendly relations have continued with the British. During the Great War, Nepal rendered valuable assistance on the North-West Frontier against Afghanistan.

(*b*) The news of the early failure of the British in Nepal re-awakened the hope among several Indian princes of expelling the British. Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, moved troops towards the Sutlej. The leading Maratha chiefs began to organise and equip their forces. Pathan bands under Amir Khan, the Pindari Chief, assembled in Rajputana. Had all these combined, they would have realised their hope. To check them Hastings had no adequate force. Yet he resolved on first extirpating the Pindaris. This he foresaw would lead to war with the Marathas; for, Daulat Scindia, Jaswant Rao Holkar and the Raja of Berar were in close touch with the Pindaris, and employed them as mercenary troops.

(*c*) The Pindari Campaign began and, after two years of struggle, India was freed of a pest which had thriven on the policy of non-intervention. Their defeat has been described in the last chapter on the Maratha period.

(*d*) As was foreseen, war with the Marathas followed. It ended in the overthrow of that power. The Peshwa's territory annexed and the Bombay Presidency formed, Holkar lost all his territory except the State of Indore. The Bhonsle of Berar's possessions were annexed in part and now form the Central Provinces. Daulat Scindia gave up Ajmere, which strengthened the British position in Rajputana. This war has been dealt with more fully under the reign of Baji Rao II.

The Marquess of Hastings had now secured general peace in India under the dominant control of British rule. His political settlement of central India completed the policy of the Marquess of Wellesley. Contest with Indian Powers was practically over. Hence-forward, it became the principle of British policy that every State, except the Punjab and Sindh, should submit the control of its foreign relations as well as all external disputes to the British Government, and fellow the latter's advice in its management of internal affairs. From the frontiers of Sindh and the Punjab, down along the west coast to Cape Comorin and up along the Bay of Bengal to the frontier of Burma, the sea-board and the mainland were under British authority; in the north, from Bengal to the edge of the deserts bordering on Upper Sindh and the Punjab, the whole belt of land with the Himalayas, as a barrier, was under the same control. In two sections disturbance was liable to occur : on the north-east, where the Burmese were threatening Assam; and on the north-west, where the Sikhs beyond the Sutlej were formidable.

Henceforward the work of peaceful consolidation between the ruling power and Indian States went on.

1° Monstuart Elphinstone, who was an eminent soldier and political officer, joined the Company at the age of eighteen He took part in the Battle of Assaye and was sent as ambassador to Kabul in 1809, and was the British Resident at the court of Baji Rao II in 1818. The Peshwa was forced by Elephinstone to sign the treaty of Poona, which led to the annexing of the Peshwa's territories. For seven years he was Governor of Bombay, where he drew up a complete code of civil and criminal law, and framed rules for the Police and Revenue Departments. He wrote a well known history of India. He died as Governor-General of Canada in 1859.

2° Sir David Ochterlony was a distinguished soldier who won fame during the second Mysore War, and bravely held out at Delhi against Jaswant Rao Holkar. He was the only general who was successful against the Gurkhas in the

Nepal Campaign. His ability saved the whole situation for the British. When the Bhurtpore dispute arose, he would have settled matters by force; but as Lord Amherst would not allow this he resigned, and died shortly after.

LORD AMHERST

Lord Amherst succeeded in office when the Marquess of Hastings resigned. He was not altogether fit for the post. Though he sought peace, he was involed in war with Burma. During that war, steamships were first used in Indian seas. They evoked great admiration.

(*a*) *The First Burmese War*:—Màha Bandula, the Burmese general, was ordered to march from Arakan into Bengal, to drive the British out and to bring the Governor-General a prisoner, bound in golden chains, back to Burma. The Court at Ava regarded the British with ineffable contempt. The war dragged o n for two years, and ended in the Treaty of Yendabu. A fuller account of this war is given further down in a chapter dealing with the wars in Burma.

(*b*) *Bhurtpore*:—The mishandling of Burmese War caused unrest again throughout India.

Durjan Sal, cousin of the infant Raja of Bhurtpore, claimed the throne and defied the authority of Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, who had approved of the young Raja's accession. Lord Amherst disallowed Sir David's moving of troops into the State, and replaced him by Sir Charles Metcalfe. The latter persuaded Lord Amherst to allaw Lord Combermere to take the fort of Bhurtpore. When this was done, a Council of Regency was set up to rule the State, which now became a subsidary ally.

6

The Acquisition Made Firm

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

Lord William Bentinck had acted as Governor of Madras but had been recalled because of the Vellore Mutiny. He never admitted the justice of that recall. His period of office was free of war, and is noted for its many improvements. It is a bright page in the annals of the British. He rulde "with eminent prudence, integrity and benevolence."

(*a*) *Financial*:—Additions were made to the Revenue by immproving the control of the opium monopoly; by cutting down civil and military expenditure; by a revision of the land assessments in the Agra Provinces and in the Madras Presidency.

In the Madras Presidency the Ryotwari System prevailed. Under it the Government was regarded as absolute proprietor of the land, and the ryot or cultivator paid a fixed revenue, according to acreage, directly to the Government for a term of years. So long as the ryot paid the assessment, he was entitled

to the land and could not be enjected. It was an ancient system introduced before the British occupation of the Presidency. The Rajas collected the assessment from the ryots, not through Zemindars, but through Tahsildars. Sir Thomas Munro lessened the amount of the assessment, and abolished many cruel practices in collecting it. Lord Bentinck reduced the assessment still more. In 1855, full protection was given to private improvements of the land; the ryot was not imprisoned if he failed to pay; he was free to relinquish his land altogether. The system prevails in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and in the province of Agra.

(*b*) *Educational*:—Following Lord Macaulay's advice, Lord Bentinck introduced the study of English into all Government Schools, and made it, not only the official language, but the medium of Education in India. He opened the first Medical College in India at Calcutta. High posts in Government service were filled by Indians irrespective of caste or creed.

(*c*) *Judicial*:—Expense, owing to delay in dealing with criminal cases, was lessened; the salaries of law officials were increased; Indian vernaculars were substituted for Persian in civil and criminal courts; Indians were appointed to high jndicial posts.

(*d*) *Social*:—Lord Bentinck abolished Suttee, and made those, who aided the guilty, chargeable with murder. Suttee was the practice of a widow burning herself to death on the funeral pyre of her husband. Not all widows died willingly, especially in the case of Rajas, when hundreds of women were actually sacrificed. The custom was of great antiquity; it was probably brough into India by conquering tribes from Central Asia, who were wont to kill widows and slave girls at their master's sepulchre.

The practice had been forbidden by Akbar, by Albuqerque, by the Peshwa in Hastings' time, by many European officials and Hindu chiefs. Nevertheless, the evil existed on a large scale. General legislation was needed, and gradually

proved effective. Modern cases in British India are few, it any, and are hidden.

Thuggee was also suppressed. It was the practice of strangling travellers for the sake of plunder, and was carried on by a secret organisation with the supposed sanction of the goddess Kali. With the exception of the Konkan. the organisation was spread all over India. It was very ancient, and remained unbroken till Feringhur, a famous Thug, saved his life, by betraying all the secrets of the society to Major Sleeman. Other approvers helped forward the systematic enquiry into the working of this infamous organisation. Major Sleeman with his colleagues destoryed much of the organisation.

(*a*) *Annexation*:—Owing to the misrule and the incapacity of the Raja of Mysore, the State was placed under British administration. This arrangement lasted for fifty years.

(*b*) When the Raja of Kachar, a State on the N.E. Frontier, died, the State lapsed to the British Government under the provision of the Treaty of Yendabu. Its inhabitants favoured this change.

(*c*) The Jaintia Paganas, near Sylhet, were annexed because the Raja refused to surrendea those who had kidnapped British subjects and sacrificed them to the goddess Kali.

(*d*) *Coorg*:—Vira Rajendra, its Raja, was a cruel despot, who had calmly murded all his mala relatives and brutally oppressed his people. He hated the British, and had hatched a plot to capture Bangalore, and to overthrow their Power in Southern India. All peaceful persuasion failed. Mercara, the eapital, was taken by the British; the State was annexed and goverued by a British Commissioner.

Before leaving India in 1835, Lord Bentinck, fearing Russian aggression, formed a treaty with the Amirs of Sindh and with Ranjit Singh of Lahore, in order to have the Punjab

and the north-west of India on his side in case of war with Russia.

1° Sir Charles Metcalfe joined the Company as a cadet in 1801. Latter on, he was sent by Lord Minto, as British Envoy, to Lahore to arrange the treaty of Amritsar with, Ranjit Singh. He was the British Resident at Haidarabad. and the first Governor who administered the province of Agra He acted as Governor-General from 1835 to 1836. During this period of office, he granted the Indian Vernacular press absolute freedom. Sir Charless died as the Governor-General of Canada.

2° Lord Macaulay was Secretary for War on the Board of Control before he came out as the first Law-Member of the Governor-General's Council. He advised Lord Bentinck to make English the official language and the medium of Education in India. His support was given to Sir Charless Metcalfe when the latter granted greater freedom to the Indian Press. His short and brilliant essays on Clive and Warren Hastings are biassed and historically unfair.

He was also the author of the Indian Penal Code. On his return he was made a Baron and died in 1859.

3° *The Charter of 1833*:--By this Charter the Company ceased to be merely a Trading Company. As part of the Imperial British Government, it held India in trust for the Crown.

LORD AUCKLAND

Lord Auckland was regarded by Parliament as a peaceful man, likely to follow the policy of Lord Bentinck. He would have done so if his weakness of character had not led him to adopt the advice of evil counsellors. These drew him into political intrigue and military enterprises, which ended in the deepest humiliation the British Power had suffered in the East. He had no policy of his own. By nature, he was kindly, and, at the outset, devoted himself to improvements in education,

in medical science and in taxation. Had he continued so, his reputation would have been untarnished. Unfortunately, he took to a warlike policy both dishonourable and blundering.

When Lord Auckland assumed office, French influence was at an end in Asiatic affairs. Russia was now feared. On the death of Napoleon, Russia recovered her freedom, and extended her dominion as far as the Caspian Sea, and had commanding influence over Persia. She began to intrigue with Afghanistan. A Russian invasion of India was feared. A mission under Mr. Burnes was sent to Kabul to win the friendship of Dost Mohamed, the ruler of Afghanistan. But the latter was no friend of Ranjit Singh. He knew of the treaty of Amritsar with Lord Minto, and of that with Lord Bentinck, and probably thought Russian friendship of more value than that of the Company. The mission failed. Lord Auckland resolved to depose Dost Mohamed, who had usurped the right of Shah Shuja, the lawful Amir, and to replace the latter, who was friendly, on the throne again.

This led to the First Afghan War. It ended in disaster to the British. A fuller account of this war is given in the chapter which deals exclusively with Afghanistan.

War with China :—In dealing with China, the British representatives there, behaved in so high-handed a manner that the Chinese Government, in putting down the smuggling of opium into China by British merchants from India, severely treated British ships and subjects. Sir Hugh Gough went there with an army from India; and, after several victories, secured the treaty of Nankin. Four ports were opened to British trade, namely, Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo and Shangai. Hong-kong was annexed.

Lord Auckland was recalled in 1842.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH

(*a*) Lord Ellenborough brought the First Afghan War to a close. British honour was vindicated; but Dost Mohamed

was allowed to return to the throne unconditionally and ruled till 1863. Reference should be made to the chapter treating of Afghanistan.

(*b*) *War with Sindh* :—In 1786 a Baluchi chieftain took Sindh; and, on his death, it was divided into the three States of Haidarabad, Khairpur, and Mirpur, each under an Amir. They agreed to open up the Indus and the roads of Sindh to the British for the purposes of trade, but not for military use. So long as Sindh remained independent, the navigation of the Indus was liable to be closed to the British. In the event of trouble in Punjab or on the N. W. Frontier, this would prove a serious obstacle to the movement of British troops. Lord Bentinck had sought to remove the obstacle by a treaty of peace with the Amirs when Russian intrigue was active in Afghanistan; but he had failed.

After the first Afghan War, the Amirs showed themselves less friendly. Lord Auckland had used the Indus for military purposes in carrying on the fight against Afghanistan. He pleaded that Afghanistan was their common enemy. Sukkur and other strategic centres in Sindh were occupied. Finally the Amirs were forced to accept a subsidiary alliance.

Lord Ellenborough was bent on annexing Sindh, and placed Sir Charles Napier, who was of the same mind, in command at Haidarabad. Such demands were made upon the Amirs that they were driven to fury. Colonel Outram, the British Commissioner, was attacked at his residence in Haidarabad. He was, however, quite opposed to the aggressive policy of Lord Ellenborough. The latter seized upon this attack as an excuse for waging war. Sir Charles Napier defeated the Amirs at Miani, Haidarabad, Mirpur and Amarkot.

Sindh was annexed and the Amirs exiled to Benares. Though a strategic position was secured and the people prospered more than before, the annexation cannot be justified. Colonel Outram, the British Commissioner, though a warm friend of Napier's, protested strongly against it, resigned, and pleaded for its restoration when in England. But it was held

that "the mischief of retaining was less than the mischief of abandoning Sindh." Its annexation was the first since the time of the Marquess of Hastings.

(*c*) On the death of Jankaji Scindia, a regent, Dada Kasji, was appointed on behalf of Scindia's son. The British Government sanctioned this. Palace intrigue expelled the regent; and the Gwalior army, 40,000 strong, threatened the peace of the State. Lord Ellenborough demanded the disbanding of the army. This was refused. A force under Sir Hugh Gough defeated the army at Maharajpur and Punnair. No annexation followed; but the Maharani, Tara Bai, was deposed and pensioned. The army was reduced, and a Council of Regency appointed to rule the State. This affair with Gwalior was fortunate; it staved off danger on the British flank when the fierce struggle against the Sikhs, 70,000 strong, began shortly after.

(*d*) Slavery was abolished in India. No compensation was made for the freeing of slaves. The Law simply refused to recognise the status of a slave as legal. From time immemorial, slavery had existed in the country. There were very many slaves in India in 1843.

State Lotteries, the proceeds of which has been devoted to local improvements, were abolished.

Lord Ellenborough was now recalled. Though qualified sufficiently for his office, he was very hasty in his decision, too arrogant in dealing with the Directors, contemptuous towards the Civil Service, aggressive in his policy and too found of pompous display.

LORD HARDINGE

Lord Hardinge was fifty-nine years of age when he came out to India, but he was still very energetic and quite fit to assume high command. He had distinguished himself as a soldier in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo. In civil life,

he had been a member of Parliament for twenty years, and had acted as Secretary for War.

Almost all his attention had to be given to the struggle with the Sikhs. But he found time to plan the Indian Railway system of the future, to hasten on the construction of the Ganges canal, to abolish octroi duties, *i.e.*, taxes on town imports; to lessen the salt duty and improve free trade. He employed Indians in Government service, and made Sunday, a Government holiday in India. The beautiful Taj Mahal at Agra was restored by his order; he sought to preserve ancient monuments elsewhere in India. Calcutta was given a Muncipal council.

Great humaneness was shown by him, in putting down infanticide and suttee in Indian States, and human sacrifices prevalent in the hilly districts of Orissa. Though strongly wishing to carry out a policy of peace, he was drawn into war. After the first Sikh war, he was too hasty in reducing the army; this embarrassed his successor in office. On leaving India, he re-organised the army system at home, was made Field-Marshall, and died in 1856. An account of the first Sikh war is given in the following chapter.

7

The Sikhs

The Sikhs were a religious sect founded towards the close of the fifteenth century in Hindustan. Their founder was a Hindu named Nanak Shah, born near Lahore. Nanak, in his preaching, tried to reconcile the Hindu with the Mohamedan religion. He called on Hindus to do away with idol worship and caste distinctions and to believe in the existence of only one God. He asked Mohamedans to avoid offending Hindus by the killing of cows, and to practise religious toleration. In short, he taught devotion to God, and universal toleration and love towards all men. Those who followed him were called Sikhs or "devoted learners." He was called the "Guru" or spiritual leader. He died in 1539. His teaching is contained in the sacred book of the Sikhs, called the Adhari-Granth.

In 1606 the Moguls persecuted them and killed Arjun, their fifth Guru. Up to then the Sikhs had been a peaceful people, but this cruel persecution drove them to arms. Under Har Govind, the son of the murdered Guru, terrible revenge was taken. They formed themselves into bands of soldiers and grew formidable.

Govind Singh, was only eleven years of age when Aurangzeb put his father Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Guru, to

death. Govind, the tenth and the last of the Sikh Gurus, formed and carried out the idea of gathering the scattered Sikhs into a military and religious confederacy.

He abolished caste distinctions, and admitted to his creed all classes of Hindus. He gave all equal privileges and bound them into a military brotherhood. He required of them always to carry arms, to wear a blue dress and to allow their beard and hair to grows. Thus was formed the Khalsa or Sikh Brotherhood. Its government was carried on through village committees and councils, presided over by chiefs. It was divided into twelve misls or sections, each under its own chief. The Sikhs thus became a political Power. The word Khalsa means "the saved or liberated." Later on, it was the name given to the Council of State.

In 1708, Guru Govind was murdered by an Afghan at Nandair in the Deccan. On the death of Guru Govind, Banda, his great friend, became the Sikh military leader. He attacked Wazir Khan, the Mogul commandant in Sarhind and slaughtered many Moguls in the Punjab. He was defeated by Bahadur Shah at Chamkour.

Later on he was defeated, captured and executed by Farruksiyar. The Sikhs were now persecuted and broken up. The few that escaped from between the Sutlej and the Jumna took refuge in the north-east of the Punjab. There the Sikhs lived, fighting many a battle against the Afghans. They gradually grew in power and recovered Lahore and Sarhind; but they were no longer united. The growth of this Hindu Power in the north-west was most serviceable to the British Power during the 18th century. It prevented any permanent invasion of a Power from Central Asia; it cut off Mogul contact with such a Power; it set bounds to the Maratha encroachment towards the north; it preserved tranquility on the northern limits of British territory, when the British were critically engaged with Mysore and the Marathas.

RANJIT SINGH

Ranjit Singh, the most powerful of the Sikh chiefs in the

19th century, was by birth the head of the twelve Sikh sections. In 1799 he helped Zaman Shah of Kabul to invade the Punjab. Zaman Shah made him Governor of the Punjab. From that point of vantage, he made himself master of the greater part of the Punjab as far as the Sutlej. He signed the Treaty of Amritsar with the British under Lord Minto and became a fast ally. On account of Russia intriguing with the Afghans, Lord Bentinck formed a treaty of mutual assistance with Ranjit Singh. When the dispute arose between Shah Shuja and Dost Mohamed about the Afghan throne, Ranjit Singh overran Kashmir and took Peshawar. He joined forces with the British in the First Afghan War.

He died in 1839.

The First Sikh War

On the death of Ranjit Singh, his State fell into disorder. Ranjit's two sons were murdered. Four rivals claimed the throne. Dhulip Singh, a child five years old and the illegitimate son of Ranjit Singh, was with British help proclaimed Maharaja. But all authority was in the hands of the committees which formed the Council of State or the Khalsa. Under Ranjit Singh, the army had never known defeat, and now did not want to acknowledge the Council of State. They wanted more pay; and, as the First Afghan War had led them to think they could overthrow the British, they forced the Council of State to allow them to cross the Sutlej and attack British territory. Fearing this inroad, Lord Hardinge had previously mobilised his army on the Sutlej.

The Sikhs were defeated by Sir Hugh Gough and Lord Hardinge at Mudki and at Ferozeshah. They were again defeated at Alwal, in 1846, by Sir H. Smith and, finally, at Sobraon by all three British generals. Throughout, the fighting was very severe. The Sikhs now made peace.

The Treaty of Lahore :—The Sikhs army was to be reduced and the guns used in the war to be given up; the country between the Sutlej and the Bias was annexed, and the

Hazara district in the north was retained; a British Resident was to control the State during Dhulip Singh's minority; Gulab Singh, an upstart chief, was allowed to keep Jammu and to occupy Kashmir, on payment of seventy-five lakhs of rupees.

The Second Sikh War

Mulraj, Governor of Multan, refused to pay the eighteen lakhs remaining as a fee due to the British Government, for his succession to the governorship of Multan. A Sikh named Sardar Khan Singh was appointed in his place. Sardar Khan Singh with Mr. Vans Agnew, a Civil Servant, and Lieutenant Anderson, went to Multan to depose Mulraj; but he murdered both officers, seized Multan, and declared war.

Mulraj was defeated at Kinari and Saddosam and at Ramnagar. Multan was taken by General Whish. The hard battle of Chillianwalla was won by Lord Gough; he also won the decisive battle of Gujrat near the Chenab River.

The Punjab was annexed. Dhulip Singh left for England on a pension of five lakhs a year. Mulraj was imprisoned for life. The Sikhs were disarmed. The country was administered by a British Commission instead of the Khalsa. This annexation of the Punjab was the second since the time of the Marquess of Hastings.

8

The Acquisition Completed

LORD DALHOUSIE

Lord Dalhousie was a member of Parliament and was on the ministry as President of the Board of Trade. He was a very able man of business. Though only thirty-six years old when appointed Governor-General, he was enfeebled in health, and during his term of office. suffered acutely; but, with great strength of will, he did work of the highest quality. He was a masterful character and was ill-fitted to work easily with colleagues in office. He earnestly strove to do what he considered was the right thing; he was intensely practi cal and methodical, but was over keen on efficiency, and too autocratic.

(*a*) Lord Dalhousie was feverishly energetic in supervising and improving every department of the administration. He made the work of the Supreme Government less cumbersome by abolishing out-of-date procedures. The duties of the Governor-General in Council were lessened by appointing a Lieutenant-Governor over Bengal. The Public Works Department was established.

He completed the Ganges canal, the longest in the world,

and many other works of irrigation. The first Railway was opened from Bombay to Thana; the Postal Department was founded and the telegraph introduced. Vernacular schools were opened in all districts; and education was placed under the control of European Directors of Public Instruction.

Having laid the foundation of the modern system of Government in India by abolishing useless traditions of the Company, he created State departments for each branch of work in the administration.

(*b*) Though prompted by the best of motives, his policy of annexation and his applying the Law of Lapse, carried out, as they were, with startling rapidity, produced wide and deep unrest.

The result of the second Sikh War was to place the Punjab in the hands of the British. As the Sikh administration of that province had failed twice, it was annexed, and Dhulip Singh of Lahore was pensioned.

The following were also annexed for various reasons :—
A portion of Sikkim, as a punishment for the Raja's ill-treatment of two British Officials; Cambhalpur, south-west of Bengal, as a legacy left by the will of the Raja; Berar owing to the Nizam not being able to pay fifty lakhs for the maintenance of a subsidiary force; Oudh, through misrule. Dalhousie was against taking this last step; but he was overruled by the Board of Control.

Outside India, the Second Burmese War led to the annexation of Pegu.

(*c*) Another form of annexation was the Law of Lapse. This meant that, if the ruler of a dependent State died leaving no natural heir to the State, his State became the possession of the British Government, unless he had adopted a son with the permission of the British Power. In no case was the private estate of the Raja confiscated.

His reasons for applying this Law of Lapse were :— (A) The Marquess of Wellesley's system of subsidiary alliance with Indian States was never meant to be a permanent condition bnt only a stage in the development of the relationship between the British Government and the Protected States. (B) Many of the princes in such States neglected and misruled their possessions. (C) As far back as 1834, the Directors decided that the recognition of an adoption, as securing the succession to the Raj, was an indulgence; and that such indulgence should be the exception and not the rule. In 1841 the Directors declared that, while respecting all existing claims of right, no just and honourable accession of territory should be abandoned. In 1849 the Directors aimed at putting into practice the general law and custom of India, that a dependent principality could not pass to an adopted son without the consent of the paramount Power. Lord Dalhousie, who, like the Marquess of Wellesley, was convinced that India would best prosper, if under the control of a central governing Power such as the British, applied the Law of Lapse not as a thing of his own finding, but as a principle recognised in India and approved of by the Directors. In applying the Law of Lapse, Dalhousie, was, therefore, within what he considered his political rights. Whether it was expedient to apply it or no, depended on each case. What is certain is, that he did apply it too often, and thereby caused profound resentment.

With the approval of the Directors eight States were thus annexed, the chief being Satara 1849, Jhansi 1853, and Nagpur in 1854.

By the annexation of the Punjab, of a part of Sikkim, of Cambhalpur, of Berar, and of Oudh, and by applying the Law of Lapse to Satara, Jhansi and Nagpur, Lord Dalhousie brought the acquisition of India by the British to its close. Henceforward British campaigns were outside and around India. The consolidation of British rule over India affected not only neighbouring realms but the whole political system of Asia.

LORD CANNING

Lord Canning, the son of the Prime minister in 1827, had much political experience in Parliament before his arrival in India. As postmaster-General, he had proved himself an able administrator.

On his arrival the country seemed at peace. Neither he nor Dalhousie read the sings rightly. Neither foresaw the storm of mutiny that broke out so soon. Fortunately, Canning was a man, "who even in the greatest peril never allowed his judgment to be savaged by passion or his fine sense of honour and justice to be tarnished by a feeling of revenge." His character influenced his policy, and enabled him to temper severe punishment with kindness in dealing with the mutineers, and to control the extreme measures proposed against them by the British population.

(*a*) Persia threatened Afghanistan and insulted British subjects within its own territory. Sir James Outram was sent to the Persian Gulf and took Bushire, defeated the Persians at Kushab, and seized Mohamerah. A treaty was then signed by which the Persians gave up all claim to Herat, withdrew from Afghanistan, paid a war indemnity and agreed to protect British trade.

(*b*) *The Political Causes of the Mutiny* :—Dalhousie's policy of annexation wherever possible, and his vigorous application of the Law of Lapse, had produced a sense of insecurity among the ruling Princes and Chiefs, and a feeling of profound distrust and resentment among all classes. The ordinary man knew nothing of the legal grounds upon which Dalhousie stood; what people saw was that one State after another was taken over by the British, and that, too, in rapid succession; the effect was distressing. Moreover, revenue settlements with the Zemindars had lessened their claims to rule as petty autocrats, and had weakened their authority. General internal peace had the natural result of disconcerting lawless characters, who looked upon predatory warfare as a trade. The annexation

of Oudh caused widespread unemployment, especially among the military caste.

The Religious Causes :—The introduction of railways and the telegraph, the increase of missionary activity supported by powerful officials, especially in the Punjab, led to the rumour that these forces of civiliasation were but steps towards christianising India. Laws allowing the re-marriage of widows strengthened the rumour.

The military classes were offended by a decree demanding that recruits should be willing to serve over sea, if called upon. An ill-considered order made the Sepoys bite the ends of the cartridges in use for the new Enfield Rifle. That the fat of cows had really been used at Woolwich in greasing the cartridges was, at first, not known to the authorities in India; but it was early discovered by the Sepoys. They came to believe that pig's fat had also been applied. No sooner did the Government realise the serious blunder than the order was cancelled. But it was too late. Every Sepoy believed that the order had been issued for the express purpose of making them lose caste, and of forcing them to become Christians.

Fury spread throughout the army. The fire of rebellion broke out at Barrackpore. A Brahmin sepoy of the 34th North Infantry cut the Adjutant down on the parade ground before the assembled regiment. Except for one Mohamedan, who ran up to protect the officer, the regiment stood still. Punishment followed. That night much of Barrackpore was burnt down. It was the beginning of a terrible page in Indian History.

England had just come out of the Crimean War, and was engaged in conflict with Persia and China. Hence the British garrisons in India had been greatly lessened. Discipline among the Indian troops was lax. Fortunately, all India did not rise. The Sikhs in the Punjab stood loyal. So, too, did most of the Rajput Chiefs and the Nizam of Haidarabad. Of the Maratha leaders Holkar, Scindia and the Gaekwar

remained true. In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, the Indian troops not only continued loyal but rendered help.

Those who led the mutiny had no common goal in view.

Bahadur Shah, the ex-Mogul ruler of Delhi, was joined by the Bengal Sepoys and aimed at restoring the Mogul dynasty. Most of his men were Hindus, who had no great reason for restoring Mogul Rule. Nana Saheb, the ex-Peshwa and adopted son of Baji Rao, had been deposed in 1852, and now sought to restore Maratha supremacy. He was helped by Tantia Topi, the Rajput general of Gwalior. The Rani of Jhansi, who had been pensioned in 1853, fought for her own position.

During the mutiny the fighting centred north of the Narbada, and chiefly in the province of Oudh.

From Barrackpore, the mutiny spread rapidly to Meerut and Delhi. Both these places were captured, and all Europeans massacred. Cawnpore surrendered, and massacre again resulted. Lucknow held out.

Generals Havelock and O'Neill regained Cawnpore. Sir John Lawrence took Delhi, made Bahadur Shah a prisoner, and had him deported to Rangoon. Tantia Topi and Nana Saheb vigorously assailed Cawnpore; but they were beaten off by Sir Colin Campbell, who next relieved Lucknow.

Sir Hugh Rose pursued the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi and Nana Sahib into the Central Provinces. The Rani, attired in made costume, was killed fighting at the head of her troops. Tantia Topi fled, but was caught and executed. Nana Sahib alone escaped, and probably died in Nepal.

Thus ended the rebellion which, if short, was intense and fearful in its details.

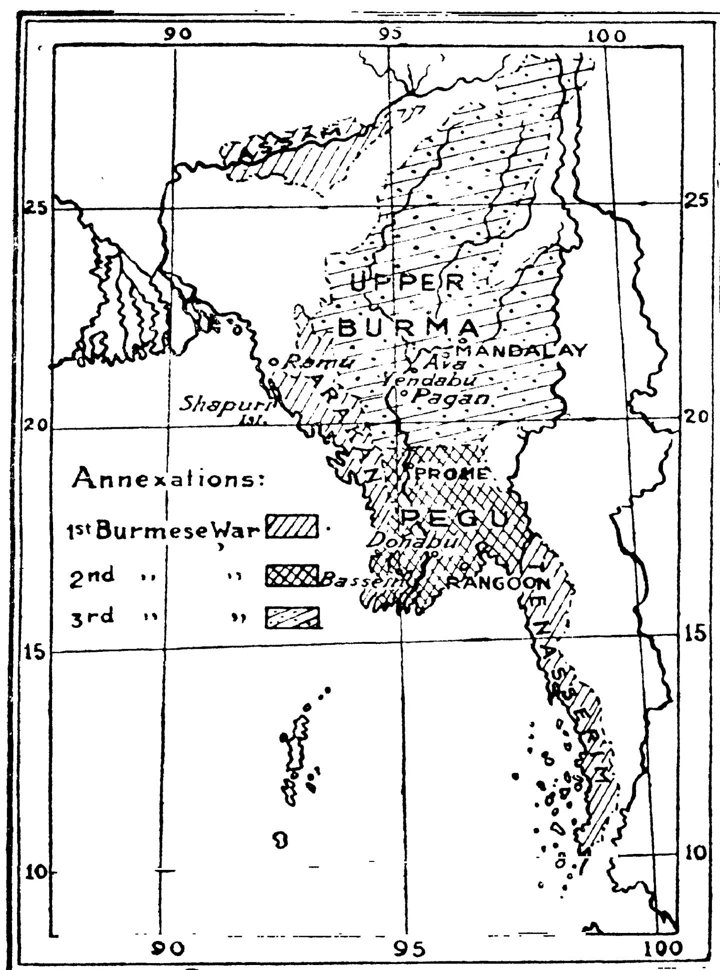
More good than evil came of the Mutiny. British valour had been tested and was able to strengthen its position where

it had weakened and to deepen loyalty where that had not been shaken.

The dual government of the Crown and the Board of Control came to an end. The whole government of India was transferred to the Crown. The Queen's Proclamation appointed Lord Canning as the first Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Lord Canning held a durbar at Allahabad on November 1, 1858, and read Queen Victoria's Proclamation. This made known the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown. It pledged the British Government to neutrality in matters of religion, and of ancient rights, usages and customs. It confirmed all existing dignities and treaties. It pardoned all rebels, except proven murderers of the British civil population, and bound itself to an equal obligation of duty towards all British subjects in India.

At the same time, the actual transference of the Company's power to the Crown was effected by the Act for the Better Government of India. By this Act, a Secretary of State was appointed, with a council to carry on the business of India in Britain; the Secretary of State in Council had to control the Indian Revenue and to place the Indian Budget annually before Parliament; all the powers and possessions of the Company were made over to the Crown; all the forces, servants and patronage of the Company, came thereby under the Crown.

Under Lord Canning as Viceroy a more liberal and enlightened administration began.



90
95
100
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UPPER
BURMA
MANDALAY
Ava
Ramu
Yendabu
Pagan
Shapuri
Isl.
PROME
PEGU
Donabu
Bassein
RANGOON
Annexations:
1st Burmese War
2nd " "
3rd " "

9

The Burmese War

In 1753 Alompra, a Burmese adventurer, founded a dynasty at Ava and extended his conquests as far as Bassein. His son conquered Arakan, Martaban and Tenasserim.

The First Burmese War

In 1818 the Burmese Government demanded from the Marquess of Hastings the surrender of Eastern Bengal, including Dacca and Murshidabad, as part of the ancient kingdom of Arakan which they had lately conquered. This was ignored and, in 1823, the Burmese forcibly occupied Sharpuri, an island belonging to the East India Company; which, however, they restored in 1824.

Maha Bandula, the Burmese General, overran Assam and Manipur and came up to the British Frontier. He captured a British outpost and was ordered by his king to bring the Governor-General in golden chains to Ava. Lord Amherst declared war.

Sir A. Campbell, coming from Madras, captured Rangoon and Assam. Supplies now failed him, and so he retired on

Rangoon. A British detachment was cut up at Ramu. Soon afterwards the British took Donabu, Prome and Arakan, and won decisively at Paghan.

The Treaty of Yendabu:—Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim were ceded to the British. An indemnity of a crore of rupees was to be paid. A British Resident had to stay at Yendabu.

The Second Burmese War

The British merchants at Rangoon were ill-treated by Burmese officials. Redress was refused.

The province of Pegu was attacked from sea and on land. Rangoon, Martaban, Prome and Bassein were taken.

Pegu was annexed. A chief Commissioner was appointed over British Burma.

The Third Burmese War

King Theebaw of Upper Burma put himself under Erench protection, gave France special consular and trading privileges. and exacted an enormous fine on the Bombay Burma Trading Company.

He ill-treated other British traders, and ruled very badly over his people. The Viceroy determind to keep France out of Burma; he ordered Theebaw to receive a British Resident at Mandalay, to redress the complaints made by British traders, and to restore order in the country. An evasive answer was returned.

Theebaw was deposed and sent as a State prisoner to Ratnagiri on the Bombay coast. Upper Burma was annexed. For the next five years desultory warfare was carried on. Gradually, complete order was restored. Theedaw died at Ratnagiri.

10

Administraiton Under The Company

After dealing with the administration of India under the Company, the acquisition of British India will be reviewed.

1° Administration Under The Company.

The Company, as a trading body, had its affairs managed in England by a court of Proprietors and a Board of Directors. In India, its officials came under the Board of Dircetors. The Court of Proprietors was represented by the more wealth shareholders. They met four times a year and received and discussed the Directors' Report. They elected and dismissed Directors. The board of Directors consisted of sixty-four stockholders.

In India, the Company's possessions were divided into the Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay areas. Each area was under a President. The government of each area or presidency was carried on by the President and a council; they had supreme, civil and criminal jurisdiction over their officials, and could exercise martial law over their land and sea-forces.

The Company's officials were divided into four gardes : writers, factors, senior and junior merchants. From the senior merchants, the members of the Governor's Council were chosen.

Queen Elizabeth's Charter of 1600 gave the Company monopoly of trade with the East for fifteen years. James I extended the Charter in perpetuity. Charles II added the right of coining money, and the exercise of jurisdiction over English subjects in India. The coinage of the Company bore the name and titles of Indian rulers. Only in 1835 was a new coinage with European devices introduced.

The Company soon had its English rivals. All happily agreed to form a United Company. When Bengal, Bihar, and Northern Orissa were acquired, the grant of the Diwani and the system of Double Government were the beginning of the Company's rule in India. But they were soon abolished. The real basis of the Company's administration of India lies in the Regulating Act. This was further completed and improved by Pitt's India Bill. Both the Act and the Bill gave supreme control in India to the Governor-General in Council. Bombay and Madras each had its own but dependent Governor and Council. The Bill, however, did away with the Board of Proprietors and set up a Board of Control instead. In India, it restricted the powers of the Directors to commercial matters. It gave the Governor-General more independent power than the Act had done; but it took political matters out of the hands of the Company. Hitherto, the latter had been a private trading body; but, by the Bill, it was brought under some control of Parliament. With few changes, Pitt's India Bill remained in force till 1858.

Gradually the control developed. Parliamentary legislation in renewing the Company's Charter deprived it of its monopoly of trade with India, but left it that with China. At the next renewal of the Charter, however, the monopoly of trade with China was with drawn. This Charter gave the Governor-General of Bengal the title of Governor-General of India; and

a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed over Bengal. The Governor-General was empowered to make Laws which, if approved of by Parliament, became Acts of Parliament. Hitherto the Company had only issued Regulations. Henceforward the Company was no longer merely a trading body, but became an administrative body under Parliament. India was no longer its possession, but a trust held by the Company for the Crown.

At the last renewal of the Charter, Parliament reduced the number of Directors from twenty-four to eighteen, six of whom were to be nominated by the Crown. This deprived the Company of its rights of patronage. Lord Dalhousie also did away with many cumbrous traditions of the Company and, by forming various departments to deal with the various branches in the administration of the State, laid the foundation of the present departmental system in India.

From 1774-1853 Parliament had gradually encroached upon the rights and privileges of the Company, and transferred the management of its most important affairs to Parliament. It transformed the Company from a private trading body into a national one. This was achieved by giving the Governor-General in India more and more of power, by lessening that of the Board of Control in England.

When, therefore, the "Act for the better government of India" was passed and brought India altogether under the Crown, the change was no sudden wrench but had been steadily prepared.

The "Act for the better government of India" left unchanged the essential principles of Pitt's India Bill; only the Board of Control and the Board of Directors were done away with, and their place taken by the Secretary of State for India and his Council. In India, the Governor-General was called the Viceroy; but no change was made in the system of Government.

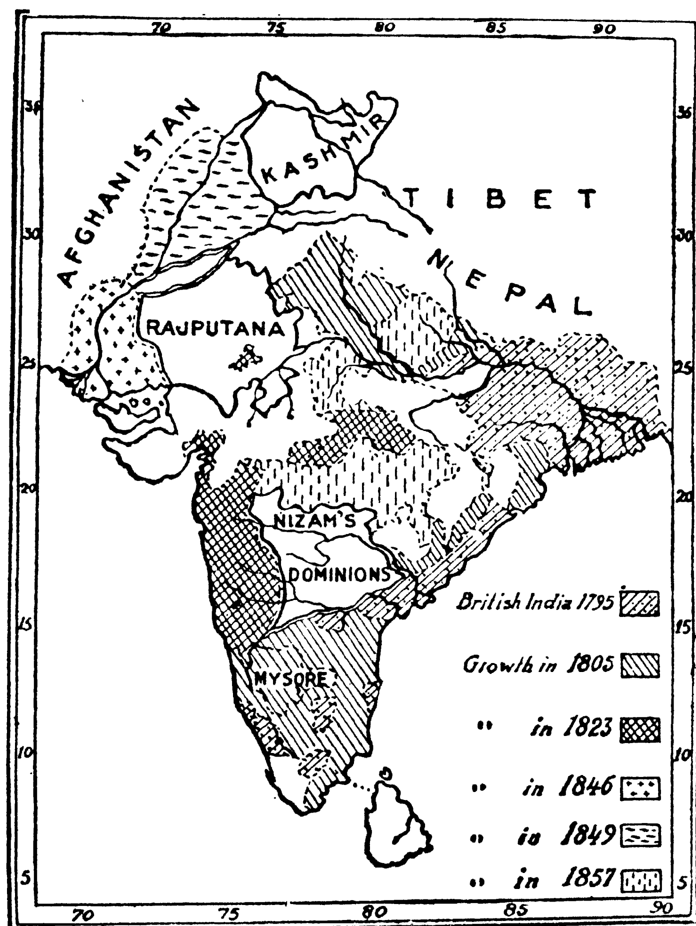
At the outset, the Company had its own tribunals for the trial of its own European officials and servents. Next came its Jurisdiction over all European residents in the three Presidencies. Under Warren Hastings, the British Collectors of Revenue in the districts were made Presidents of the Company's civil and criminal courts in their districts. He established two courts of appeal, one civil and one criminal, in Calcutta. The Governor presided over the civil and an Indian judge over the criminal. Skilled Hindu and Mohamedan lawyers helped the British judges in both courts. A simple code of Hindu and Mohamedan Law was drawn up. The Regulating Act did not do away with the Courts of the Company. It established a Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta with jurisdiction over all the Company's possessions. Pitt's India Bill more clearly laid down the powers of the Supreme Court.

Lord Bentinck improved the working of the courts. In them vernaculars replaced Persian as the official language. Indians were appointed to judicial posts. Lord Macaulay acted as the first Law member of the Governor's Council. He devised a system upon which the actual Penal Code and the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure rest.

When the Company was transferred to the Crown, its courts and the Supreme Court were abolished; and High Courts, chartered by royal warrant, were introduced.

Warren Hastings opened a college at Calcutta for Mohamedans. In 1791, Lord Cornwallis founded a Sanscrit collage for Hindus at Benares. Government Schools were established by Lord Bentinck who, acting on the advice of Lord Macaulay, made English the medium of Western education in India.

Under Lord Dalhousie, the foundation of the present educational system was laid. He was much guided by Sir Charles Wood, President of Board of Control. Educational Departments under the supervision of European Directors were formed. In all provinces, schools and colleges under Government were opened. Universities at Madras, Bombay


AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
TIBET
NEPAL
RAJPUTANA
NIZAM'S
DOMINIONS
MYSORE
British India 1795
Growth in 1805
" in 1823
" in 1846
" in 1849
" in 1857
70
75
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85
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and Calcutta were founded on the model of the London University.

When Bengal, Bihar and Orissa became Brstish acquisitions, the Diwani gave the British the right to collect the revenue. Indians under the control of British officials did the collecting. Todar Mal's system was acted upon. This system led to the formation of the Zemindar class. Warren Hastings did away with it, and introduced his system of farming out lands on a lease of five years. He also abolished the Diwani. A Revenue Board was set up, which consisted of British officials who had to collect the Revenue. This system exists in a modified form in places, where neither the Zemindar nor Ryotwari System prevails.

Broadly speaking, these two Systems were and are generally acknowledged. The Zemindari system lay in the payment of revenue to the Zemindar or land-owner by the cultivator or tenant, who, however, did not own the land. The Company claimed a share of the revenue paid in. In the Permanent Revenue Settlement, which did away with the system of farming out land on lease introduced by Warren Hastings, this share was fixed for ever. But in what are now the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and in the Punjab the share was and is fixed anew every twenty or thirty years.

The Ryotwari System prevailed in the south, and, later on, was applied to the Bombay Presidency and to the Province of Agra. The payment of revenue by the cultivator was and is made to Tahsildar, who sends it on directly to the ruling power whose agent he is. The cultivator owns the land. He pays in proportion to the productiveness of his property. This payment has steadily been reduced. The modern system dates back to 1855.

2° The Acquisition Surveyed.

Internal disunion had always made India weak. Conquerors from Central Asia had found that political discord

readily drew petty realms in India away from one another and made them gravitate towards a foreign Power that was self-contained. These conquerors had also found that the Indian caste system had whittled down the fighting resources of Indian manhood by restricting the bearing of arms to races both scattered and few, thus Indian armies, if large, were necessarily comprised of too many a mere mercenary, or free-lance,, or adventurer, all with little stomach for dire battle and with no patriotism; these Asiatic invaders also realised that small Indian forces, leavened by a warlike foreign element, could withstand and overcome a larger army of their own countrymen; hence it was, that Asiatic invaders, fewer in numbers but superior in union, had, time and again, carved out for themselves extensive dominion in India.

Both the French and the British learned the same experience of India as the Asiatic invaders had acquired. In their warfare on land, therefore, the British did nothing quite unheard of in Indian History. Against over-whelming odds, the British fought and won momentous battles, just as the Asiatic invaders had done; and, as the Asiatics, so also the British obtained vast territory and, little by little, came to hold sway over the whole of India. But their acquisition of India is unique in History, because it was done by a trading company that grew into a ruling body, though it was separated from the base of its power by the vast waters of the Atlantic and of the Indian Ocean. Just as other conquerors in their day had done, so, too, the British, in their turn, made use of the political discord then rife in India. This discord was due to the decay of the Mogul Empire. Moreover, not only this internal disunion but also her defenceless sea-board, made India weak against the British. For, unlike other conquerors of India, the British were strong at sea and readily took advantage of her extensive and undefended sea-board.

They alone of all successful invaders won their way, not inland from the north or north-west, but eastwards from the Bay of Bengal.

Though the British had their early trading settlements on

the West coast, they bought their first strip of territory in Madras. They got this footing on the East coast from the Raja of Chandragiri in 1639.

Later on, in 1689. they went northwards and secured a settlement on the Hoogly. There they came into conflict with Siraj-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, and, under the leadership of Clive, won the battle of Plassey in 1757. Their victory at Plaasey, it is said, sealed the destiny of India. It led to Bengal falling to the British in 1765. Bengal is not only the richest part of India; it is also linked to the most important. Behind it, lies the open, wide and fertile plain of Hindustan, that stretches along the Himalayan wall to the north and away to the Sulaiman Hills in the west; it broadens out southwards on to the Vindhya Range: and, on the south-west, it is flanked by the Gobi desert. Nature has thus fenced in and fortified the frontiers of this plain :—On the north by the highest mountain wall in the world and, on the north-west, by another bleak wall of mountain that is impassable but for a few rugged defiles; to the south-west, nature has spread the burning sands of the Gobi desert, and, on the south, has built up the forest-clad Vindhya Range, to shut out an invader from the south-western and midland area.

But, though protected so well by Nature on the north, north-west, south and south-west, the Ganges plain has a weak spot in the east. That weak spot is Bengal. This province lies open to the sea, and, on the eastern sea-board of India, it alone has such rivers as make water-ways, which, to an invader, are like arteries running inwards to the heart of India. Through them an invader, sailing over sea to the Bay, can penetrate up to the centre of the plain lying behind, and can march as far as the Himalayan and the Sulaiman wall, and to the Vindhya Range, and to the fringe of the Gobi desert; and, from within this fortress, which nature has built, can face a foe hailing from the north, or the west, or the south. From a strategic point of view, this central plain dominates the rest of India. It was ever the goal of invasion. Within its frontiers, one conquering dynasty after another penetrated, held

sway, built its cities and died out. Each of these conquering dynasties had come overland from the north, or north-west, or west. But the British alone came oversea and from the east. Through the weak spot of Bengal, they entered inland. The tremendous defences, which Nature had built to protect the frontiers of the plain of Hindustan, caused the British no trouble. Bengal placed them within that mighty fortress; they could thus face a foe hailing from the north, the north-west, the south, and the south-west. Once masters of Bengal, they strengthened their position there, and did not advance westwards, for the next forty years. But they moved along the eastern sea-board towards the south and, in 1763, overthrew the French in the Carnatic and secured control over it and possession of the Northern Circars. No French attempt in coming years could shake the grip that the British had on Southern India; for the British held the sea. Nor were they troubled by invasion from the north, or north-west, or south-west. Ahmad Shah Durrani of Afghanistan, after invading the Punjab in 1761, returned no more; nor did any of the Amirs whose dynasty he had founded. Afghanistan became a barrier against intrusion from Central Asia. In the Punjab the Sikhs, in their strength, barred the way both of the Afghan and the Central Asiatic into India. Moreover between Bengal and the Sikhs, and below the Sutlej, lay a belt of Moslem realms from Delhi to Lucknow. Of these realms, the most powerful was that of Oudh. But, by the Treaty of Allahabad, it had became an ally of the British. This alliance was the cornerstone of the land-system in defence of Bengal.

With the loss of central control through the decay of Mogul power, differences national, political, and religious between Maratha, Sikh, and Mohamedan bred strife. This strife did not touch Bengal; but the wealth of Bengal enabled the British to take their share in that strife. They had to do so; for, that strife had, as its goal, the supremacy of rule over India.

The British had either to take their share in that strife and accept what the Fortune of War should give them, or they

had inevitably to relinequish what they possessed, and to leave the shores of India. They chose to battle for what they already had, and to take their chances against the Indian Powers that strove for supremacy over India.

Hence, after the British had obtained Bengal, and the Northern Circars, and controlled the Carnatic in the south, there followed the conflict with the State of Mysore. This conflict ended in the British formation of the Madras Presidency. The second and third wars with the Marathas next took place. By overcoming the Bhonsle of Berar, the Marquess of Wellesley obtained Cuttack and Balasore, and was able to link up the Madras Presidency with Bengal. Next, by defeating Daulat Rao Scindia of Gwalior, he was enabled to extend British territory from Bengal to the river Jumna, and to include the territory north of Jaipur and Jodhpur. His annexations were half of the province of Oudh, the whole district of Surat, the Ceded Districts, the Carnatic, and Tanjore. His subsidiary alliances left only the state of Nepal, the Province of Sindh, the Punjab and the Maratha State of Indor still politically independent. One of his successors, the Marquess of Hastings, defeated the State of Nepal and, by the Treaty of Saigauli, almost the whole northern belt of land, from Bengal to the desert border in the west, and up to the Himalayan wall as a barrier on the northern flank, was added to British India. There followed the suppression of the Pindaris, which brought Central India under British political control. Southwards, the fourth Maratha war completed what the Marquess of Wellesley had left undone in western acquisition, and resulted in the formation of the Bombay Presidency. Only in the north-east, where the Burmese were threatening Assam; and, in the north-west, where the Sikhs in the Punjab were formidable; and in the south, where the Amirs were hostile, lay any likelihood of disturbance, such as would lead to territorial acquisition.

This likelihood became fact. War with Sindh led to its anaexation by Lord Ellen-borough; the Sikh war followed, and Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab; and, finally, two

campaigns against Burma ended in the annexation of that country in 1886.

Not through warfare, but by a policy of annexation for misrule, Dalhousie secured a portion of Sikkim, Cambhalpur, Berar, and Oudh; and, by the Law of Lapse, he added the States of Satara and Jhansi and Nagpur to British India, and completed the acquisition, which Clive had begun a hundred years before.

The British East India Company, having begun, extended, consolidated and completed its acquisition of India, was after the Mutiny and by the will of Parliament, made to yield its vast possessions to the Crown of England, Its acquisition of India is an achievement without parallel in History.

3° The Company's Policy.

As soon as the control exercised by Mogul rule over India began to slacken, warring disruption sat in. Gradually out of the welter of warfare, there emerged those Powers, whose strength would enable them to bid for political ascendency. One was the Sultanate founded by Hairdar Ali, with its capital at Mysore; another was the Maratha Confederacy in the west with its political centre at Poona; the third was the British with its seat of government at Calcutta, in the north-east. During the greater part of the latter half of the eighteenth century, the balance of power rested on a trangular equipoise between the British, the Sultanate of Mysore and the Marathas. If two of these fell out with each other. the third decided the issue; if two combined, the third was imperilled.

Of these Powers, the Maratha Confederacy and the Sultanate of Mysore had no settled policy. Both were restless and war-loving, willing to expand their political influence, wherever and whenever they could. Both distrusted each other; both sought French help against the British, whom they feared.

The British, after more than a century spent in occupation as traders, were drawn into serious conflict with Indian States through the rivalry of the French and the ambition of Dupleix. The conflict in the Carnatic was forced on the Company. To have refused Mohamed Ali the aid he wanted, would have led to his defeat. This would have so surrounded the Company with enemies, that its ousting out of India could have been assured. Fight the British had to : but it was a very narrow escape from defeat that left them their position in the Carnatic. It was War in Europe, and their sea-power, that gave them final political mastery over the Carnatic and the Northern Circars.

As in the south, so too in the north-east, the British had to War. Siraj-ud-daulah, falsely informed as to the wealth of the Company's settlement on the Hoogly, opened a conflict, which left to the British the mastery over Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa and, politically, bound them up with the affairs of India. From a dependent trading body, they had suddenly grown into one of the ruling Powers in India. Owning vast territory in the south and in the north, they had either to maintain that position of power or retire altogether. To keep what they had, was Clive's view after the battle of Buxar. When it was mooted whether to take the rest of the Mogul empire in the north or no, he stood for holding firm to what the British had and not for making fresh conquest. "We have at last arrived," he wrote, "at that critical period which I have long foreseen, that period which renders it necessary to determine whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. . . . . It is scarcely hyperbole to say that to-morrow the whole Mogul Empire is in our power." Yet, rather than act up to this conviction, he preferred to held to what the Company had. He gave back to Shuja-ud-daulah, Vazir of Oudh, the districts he had won and formed, with him, the barrier-treaty of Allahabad in defence of Bengal.

Moreover, at this time, those, who directed the affairs of the Company, were keen on limiting territorial expansion of the Company, on curbing sehemes of conquest, and on

avoiding such treaties with Indian States as would involve the Company in war. It was thought unnecessary to engage in war; it was firmly believed that the British would, in the end without war, acquire complete political ascendency over the Indian Powers. In this belief, they were supported by the overthrow of the French, their formidable rivals, and by the inter-position of both the growing Sikh power and the Afghan dynasty against an invasion from Central Asia. There was also the lesson, taught by Indian History, of the gradual gravitation of minor and scattered realms towards any strong coherent Power. It followed that, at this time, the best interest of the Company would be served, not by warfare, but by developing what it had. This was actually carried out in Bengal. For the next forty years; its territorial limits remained almost stationary.

Hence, the Governor chosen, after Clive's departure, was not a warrior but an administrator. The task alloted him was the organisation of the Bengal Province. But events happened that thwarted this a deal. The Nawab of Oudh, an ally of the Company, fell out with the Rohillas and asked Warren Hastings, the Governor, for help. This was given to secure further protection for Bengal. As the Rohillas were on friendly terms and sought no quarrel with the British, the action of Warren Hastings was diplomatic. In the west, the Bombay Council, eager to obtain Salsette and Bassein, supported Raguba in his claim to the Peshwaship and involved itself in war with the Maratha chiefs, who upheld the claims of the infant son of Narayanrao, the late Peshwa. A long, costly and unprofitable war followed. The Marathas were, at this time, quite a match for the British.

At this time, the American war was going on. France was led to intrigue with the Marathas and Haidar. Warren Hastings decided on seizing the French settlements in India. When Mahe was taken, the line of communication between the French and Haidar Ali of Mysore was broken. Haidar Ali, who never forgot that the British had not aided him against the Marathas in 1771, now opened his attack. Warren Hastings was in a position of great peril.

From 1780 to 1783 British prospects sank to the lowest water-mark. The Marathas and Haidar of Mysore, both aided by the French, had set upon the British. With rare sagacity, Warren Hastings pulled the British through. When the crisis was over, Parliament sanctioned Pitt's India Bill, which definitely laid down what is known as the policy of non-intervention. The Bill declared that to pursue schemes of conquest and dominion in India was repugnant to the wish, honaur, and the policy of the British nation. It, therefore, forbade warfare against Indian States, or treaties likely to entangle the British in warfare. A neutral attitude was to be observed. But this attitude should depend on whether other Indian Powers would be neutral and not attack the British or those States which were British allies. So the policy of non-intervention turned on whether the Marathas or the Sultan of Mysore or any other Indian State would maintain the equipoise of power. At the very outset, Tippu Sultan of Mysore close to be a storm centre and brought the Maratha, the Nizam, and the British down upon himself; but, during the next six years Sir John Shore kept close to the policy of non-intervention. It was a period of peace for the British; but, instead of strengthening or even securing their position, their neutral policy placed them in danger. Friendly States felt their confidence in the British quite shaken; hostile States mistook British moderation either for weakness or selfishness; no political advantage to the British was given up without a hostile Power seizing it; hence, the British found that to resign influence, through the policy of non-intervention, was not only to lose power, but that their loss in power was gain in power to their foes. It is therefore, admitted, on all hands, that political neutrality or non-intervention sowed the seed of warfare rather than of peace.

The political situation, when the Marquess of Wellesley assumed office, illustrates the admission stated above.

The Nizam of Haidarabad, Tippu of Mysore, and the Marathas, eager to drive the British out and to keep India for themselves, sought help from the French but did dot combine. France and England were in the throes of the French Revolu-

tion, and, as the destiny of India lay ultimately either with the British or the French, the latter eagerly fostered the attitude of the Indian Powers against the British.

To the Marquess of Wellesley, it seemed that the British were set against the wall. In this crisis, they had not disturbed the balance of power nor had their neutral policy failed for want of trial on their part. Hostility stared them in the face and threatened ruin. Either they struck out or they were lost. Wellesley, led by the political situation in Europe rather than in India, decided on his policy. He would strive against France for the mastery of India. Through subsidiary alliances, British power in India would be made supreme; annexation he would also make where possible. It was a warlike, aggressive policy. A subsidiary alliance meant that the British undertook the military defence of a State; its ruler defrayed the expense of the army he did not command; excluded from his realm all foreigners of a nation hostile to the British; and agreed to have all his external policy guided by a British Resident stationed at his capital.

Wellesley went forward with this policy; and, in the case of the Nizam and of Tippu Sultan of Mysore, offered it as an alternative to war. The Nizam submitted; but Tippu fought for and lost his independence. But, in the case of the Marathas, as they were too formidable to tackle easily, the Marquess waited for his opportunity which, owing to their rivalry, came more roseate than he had hoped for, when the Peshwa appealed to him for help. By the treaty of Bassein, the centre of Maratha Government was brought under British protection.

His forward policy had now reached its height. At Mysore, Haidarabad, Lucknow, and Poona, the capitals of four Indian Powers, British forces were encamped. But three Maratha chiefs, realising that the Peshwa, by placing the centre of Maratha government under British control, had endangered their own independence, refused to acknowledge the subsidiary alliance of Bassein. One of the three Chiefs, Jaswant Rao Holkar, having gone that far, now kept aloof. But the two

other chiefs, the Raja of Berar and Daulat Rao Scindia of Gwalior, waged war and lost heavily. By victory over them, the British were now paramount politically.

Thus, during the seven years, in which the Marquess of Wellesley ruled, the foundations of dominion laid down by Clive and Warren Hastings had been built upon. When Wellesley came to India, the British were halting before two political paths : the one was the neutral policy of holding aloof from the quarrels of Indian Powers and of defending themselves within their own administrative borders; the other was the aggressive policy of striking boldly into the medley of warring States and of disarming and of subjecting them to British control. This latter course was based on two reasons : the one was that the first course had hitherto proved a failure, and the second was that the French were intriguing to drive the British out of India. By adopting this course, Wellesley found that he satisfied the Court of Directors. When he left India, the only States, still independent of British control, were Sindh, the Punjab, Indore, and Nepal.

In India, the Marquess of Wellesley had ridden his hobby of French menace very hard. Yet it won for him Parliamentary support. For, if before his day and through the policy of non-intervention, the British had striven no further then to deal with the Indian States upon a footing of equality. Parliament now saw that, Wellesley had planted the imperial policy of political supremacy there.

Through his imperial policy, Indian States had almost all become subsidiary allies and had lost their independence. But various causes set in against that principle. Wellesley had to be recalled.

His successor, Sir George Barlow, set about to work the policy of non-intervention once more. Lord Minto strenuously followed it at first; but he, gradually, steered a middle course between intervention and non-intervedtion, and ended by convincing the Directors that, in the long run, it was impossible to keep rigidly to a neutral policy in India, and yet preserve

the balance of power. When Lord Minto left India, the Marquess of Hastings, who succeeded him, found he had to face seven different quarrels likely to demand "the decision of arms." He spent six years in warfare. At first, the Nepalese courted his attack. His early failure against them made every political Power in India throb with the hope of overthrowing the British.

When the Nepalese War closed and left the British dominion extending from Bengal to the Sikh frontier, the Marquess settled down to a warlike policy that completed whatever Wellesley had left undone in the political structure of British Dominion in India. He found that the neutral policy of the British had been followed for the past eight years, and that, in consequence, almost the whole of Central India and Rajputana had been left to themselves. The result was that within the ring-fence of British territory, rigid order had developed; outside the fence, tumultuous disorder prevailed. Armies of lawless banditti, known as the Pindaris, roved over the country; the Maratha chiefs of Indore and of Gwalior and other petty feudatory leaders were in constant turmoil; the Rajput chiefs were pestered by Afghan rovers under Amir Khan and by predatory bands of Marathas. He realised that a neutral policy towards this disorder had relied on the hope that, gradually, its ferment would fuse and settle into solid wellframed rule. But he noticed that disorder only seemed to wax more rife; he saw the condition of Central India sink steadily from bad to wrose. Reasons for this could be found in the fact that large bodies of troops, who lived on warfare, had found their occupation gone, when British government spread over the greater part of India; secondly, fixed boundaries and regular regime were unsuited to Maratha chiefs, who could only maintain their armies by levying chauth on their neighbours or by constant marauding; thirdly, systematic rule in British territory only aggravated the confusion in those parts where misrule throve; for, in India neither the country nor its people were suited to two irreconcilable systems of government; and, as British ascendency now controlled India, it was too late for it to stand abruptly on the road towards supremacy and to

disclaim the exercise of control over India; there was no one else who could assume the sovereignty. Elsewhere in India, minor chieftaincies, who found themselves spoiled and plundered by free-booters and who could only exist protected by a strong central Power, protested to the Marquess of Hastings against the British holding an imperial position but refusing help to the weaker. Those States, too, who had accepted the subsidiary alliance of Wellesley now found their responsibility for governing well had lessened; their dependence on a stronger Power had weakened their internal authority; for, they trusted that an appeal to British Power would always stave off their ruin. Hence, the Marquess of Hastings thought that, as the British had assumed responsibility for the external defence of these States, the British had also to shoulder the burden of internal order. So, even if their policy were neutral in name, the British should be impelled step by step, towards the active office of supreme arbiter in India. The trend of events proved, therefore, that non-intervention, as a policy, had grown out of date.

Faced by this condition of affairs, the Marquess of Hastings decided on following the policy of the Marquess of Wellesley and on completing what he had left unfinished. He decided on crushing the Pindaris for the good of Central India; and, if this should lead, as it inevitably would, to war with the Marathas, who were in league with the Pindaris, the severe fighting had to be got through and got over, once and for all. Hastings acted on his decision, crushed the Pindaris, overthrew the Marathas, pacified Central India, and formed the Bombay Presidency.

With the ascendency of the British thus finally established, an era of peace set in for over twenty years. Unfortunately, this was broken by the aggressive policy of Lord Ellenborough, who, fearing the aims of Afghanistan, waged war upon and annexed Sindh. His successor, Lord Hardinge, though following a policy of peace, was forced into conflict with the Sikhs. The Punjab fell into his hands but was not annexed. After this, so sure was he that peace would prevail that he greatly

reduced the army, and even told his successor that it would not be necessary to fire a gun for seven years to come. His forecast proved entirely false.

During the next four years, Lord Dalhousie had to fight bitterly before he overthrew the Sikhs. The fault lay with Mulraj, the Governor of Multan, and with the unstable state of the Sikh Government. Twice already had the Punjab fallen to the British; and twice had it been restored to Sikh misrule. Placing it under British control was now decided on.

Under Dalhousie, the British, as a ruling Power, quite held India. This fact deepened the view he had that India would prosper most if it were, as far as possible, under British control. Through a policy of annexation, and by applying the Law of Lapse, more of India could still come under that rule. He adopted this two-fold policy. Through that, he sought the common weal by striving to end the prolongation, anywhere in India, of an era of disorder and dynastic strife. As both the principle of annexation and the Law of Lapse were principles admitted and applied in India before the coming of the British, the Directors were not against his policy, especially as non-intervention had long since between discarded. Though to make general peace an abiding result of complete control was Dalhousie's object; yet, in working for that aim, he applied the principle of annexation and the Law of Lapse, too often and too rapidly. This mistake, arising as it did from the feverish energy he displayed in carrying out any enterprise, caused wide unrest and deep resentment. If the Mutiny in north followed, it was not because British control was completed, but because it had made itself felt in such bewildering haste. Had greater leisure been spent in bringing more of India under that control for the common welfare, it would have been accepted without upheaval.

In summing up, it is found that Pitt's India Bill laid down non-intervention as the policy which the Company was ordered to follow. But the Company, though it held to non-intervention as an ideal, practically acted otherwise. Sir John

Shore and Sir George Barlow were the only two of its Governors-General, who carried out the policy. Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, the Marquess of Hastings, Lord Ellenborough and Lord Hardinge were obliged to abandon non-intervention; the Marquess of Wellesley and Lord Dalhousie chose to lay it aside but not for the purpose of conquest; Lord Auckland was aggressive; Lord Minto sought to proceed alternately between intervention and non-intervention, and finally grew convinced that non-intervention was a policy that could not be adhered to. Lord Bentinck and Lord Amherst were happily not troubled over it. Non-intervention, as a practical policy, had proved itself a failure.

Its opposite, a policy of intervention, was generally acted upon by the Company. This policy resulted in the British acquisition of, or, if words matter, the British conquest of India. But this conquest was not due, merely, to a love of conquest. Barring the instance of Sindh, British India was not obtained through the application of the false principle that might is right. The British conquest of India was not a conquest, such as Akbar had in mind and strove hard to achive.

In looking back upon the growth of British Power in India, it is noticeable how definitely a neutral policy towards the ruling Indian States was insisted on by the Company; it is equally noticeable, too, that when that neutral policy was strictly adhered to, it did not mend matters; in fact, it made matters worse. A neutral policy would have had more success if all the ruling Powers had striven to maintain an equipoise of power. If Tippu had been wiser, if the Maratha chiefs had been less jealous of and more united with one another, the Company would not have acquired its paramount position in India. So far as the Company was concerned, it would, as a trading body, have preferred more of peace than of war, more of the maintenance of the balance of power than of political ascendency, more of a neutral than of an aggressive policy. But more often than not, the force of actual circumstances drove it either to presserve itself or to support an ally or to

suppress disorder that endangered the common good. To do so, it had to lay aside its neutral policy and to adopt an aggressive. This, in turn, was condemned and checked, if pursued beyond need. But, while the policy of the Company, influenced by the ebb and the flow of Indian affairs, shifted itself from peace to war and from war to peace, British expansion in territory grew. This expansion was due to political stress rather than to love of conquest. Conquest, for the sake of conquest, could never have created British India.

THIRD SECTION

INDIA UNDER THE VICEROYALTY

1858–1925

1

Viceroys of the Nineteenth Century

LORD CANNING

The Queen's Proclamation appointed Lord Canning as the first Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He came into office after the Mutiny, and held it for four years.

Before mentioning the reforms that were carried out during those years, it must be recorded that, while beset with the difficulties of the Indian Mutiny, he founded the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Indian graduates began that contact with Western culture which, growing as the century wore on, brought India into touch with the outer world in the political, social, intellectual and ethical realms of thought. Through the foundation of these Universities, East and West have been brought together and cannot separate. This educational reform is, perhaps, the greatest of the events to record of Lord Canning's connection with India.

Re-organisation of the Army

(*a*) The British forces of the Crown and of the Company

were formed into one. A new Indian army was created, in which the men of a regiment were of the same race, caste and creed.

(*b*) In Finance, the old methods of the Company were done away with. Experts from England were sent out, who placed the finances of the country upon a sound footing. The Income Tax was introduced.

(*c*) In matters judicial, two important measures were taken. Each Presidency had up to then administrated Law in accordance with its own Code of Procedure. Instead of this, the Penel Code, begun by Lord Macaulay, was then brought into force for all India. The Supreme Court of Justice, and Sardar or District Courts, established by the Company, were done away with by the Indian High Courts Act. In the three Presidencies, High Courts were established by Royal Charter. The Law of Lapse was abolished.

(*d*) Politically, an important step forward was taken by the first Indian Councils Act. By this Act, Legislative Councils were formed in the three Presidencies; the Viceroy's Legislative Council was fixed at six ordinary members; in addition, from six to twelve members were nominated by the Viceroy to this Council for a period of two years; for the first time, non-official members were appointed not only to the Councils of the Viceroy but also to those of the Provincial Governors.

(*e*) The Rent Act, which concerned Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, protected the cultivator by giving him the "right of occupying"; that is to say, if a tenant had held a property for twelve years, he secured the right of its possession.

Lord Canning now retired, worn out by the exertions he had undergone in carrying out his duties; he died, a broken man, three months after his return home.

LORD ELGIN

Lord Canning's successor was Lord Elgin, whose previous

career, as Governor-General of Canada and special Envoy to China, prepared him for his high office in India. But after a year, he died of heart disease. An out-burst of Moslem fanaticism on the part of the Wahabis, an Afghan tribe, led to the Sitana Expedition. With difficulty, a satisfactory conclusion was brought about.

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE

Sir John Lawrence, who had rendered great service in the Punjab, and was well acquainted with frontier politics, was appointed Viceroy. He followed a policy of peace.

Railways, telegraph communication, and irrigation were increased; the Postal rates were lowered; the cotton trade of India was greatly improved; much was done to relieve the terrible famine in Orissa.

There was some slight trouble in Bhutan. The Bhutanese had ceased to pay tribute, and had raided British territory and had kidnapped Mr. Ashley Eden, the British Envoy. Bhutan had to cede a strip of its territory.

In Afghanistan, when Dost Mohamed died, the throne was contended for. Sir John Lawrence refused to interfere. He merely declared that he would recognise the successful claimant. This proved to be Sher Ali. This attitude, on the part of Sir John, is known as one of "masterly inactivity"; it was inexpensive and cautions; but, to the Afghan, it seemed selfish; it made relations with the Amir more difficult.

LORD MAYO

Lord Mayo worked hard at all administrative problems. His charming personality won the affection of the Indian Princes, who considered him an ideal ruler.

Up to this time, the Central Government had kept all money matters under its own control. Lord Mayo made each

province responsible for economy in its administration, and for its own finance. He thus lessened the many appeals to the Central Government for grants of money. He favoured the system of State railways. A censue of Bengal was taken for the first time. A college for the sons of chiefs and nobles was opened at Ajmer. The unpleasant impression produced, on the Amir of Afghanistan, by Sir John Lawrence's policy, was removed. Sher Ali became friendly again. The Duck of Edinburgh, Queen Victoria's second son, visited India. This was intended to seecure closer relationship between the Sovereign House and the Indian Princes and people.

Lord Mayo improved the administration of jails. He inspected the penal settlement of the Andaman Islands and, when there, was stabbed to death by an Afghan, whom he had sentenced to servitude for life.

LORD NORTHBROOK

Lord Northbrook had little personal charm of manner, and assumed the cold attitude of Sir John Lawrence towards Sher Ali. The latter, fearing Russian aggression, had asked Lord Northbrook for an alliance; but he was refused on the principle of not interfering in his affairs.

In Baroda, the Gaekwar, Mulhar Rao, was ruling badly and had been threatened with deposal. Shortly after this, Colonel Phayre, the Resident, died of poisoning. The Gaekwar was blamed and deposed. Sayaji Rao, a young and distant relative, was made ruler.

Lord self-government was encouraged; Indians were appointed to high offices; and several improt duties and taxes were reduced.

The Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII, visited India officially.

LORD LYTTON

Lord Lytton, in consequence of the great famine that

spread all over India in 1876, drew up a scheme of relief. The scheme demanded that inland trade in grain should be free of all hindrance; that there should be a systematic planning, and execution of relief works on a large scale, and more building of special railways and canals. This policy of relief is the basis of the present system in cases of famine.

Queen Victoria was solemnly proclaimed Empress of India. This tital showed her relationship to the Rulers of Indian States. Up to then, these had been allies of the paramount Power in India; they now became subjects of the Crown; and parts, not of British India but of the British Empire. Broadly speaking, the Rulers and people of an Indian State are aliens as regards British India; but they are British subjects as regards foreign Powers and the Empire.

Lord Lytton extended the decentralising of the financial system begun by his predecessor. The success of Russia against Turkey, then politically supported by Great Britain, led to seditious articles in India against the British Raj. These articles were published in the Vernacular Press. To stop further sedition, the Vernacular Press Act was passed. It demanded securities against sedition from the Vernacular Press.

War broke out against Afghanistan, but Lord Lytton resigned before it ended. A fuller account of this war will be found further down in the chapter dealing with Afghanistan.

LORD RIFON

Lord Ripon brought the second Afghan War to a successful close. Khelat came under British control; and the occupation of Quetta secured the use of the Bolan Pass, and commanded Kandahar. This meant that a moderate use of military force would suffice to occupy important points in Afghanistan on the Indian side of the Hindu Kush Range. Moreover, Russia was foiled in he attempt to obtain political control over Afghanistan.

Mysore was restored to the Maharaja. The State had been administered by the British since 1831. In British India the Vernacular Press Act was repealed. The Local Self-Government Act gave the people a greater share in managing their own civic affairs. By it, Municipal Boards were formed to train citizens in political and civil administration. Certain duties on cotton were abolished.

The Ilbert Bill, named after the legal member of the Council who introduced it, proposed to confer on Indian Judges, the authority to try European British subjects. The Bill was strongly opposed by the European population, but strongly supported by educated Indians. Much racial feeling was aroused. Finally, the Bill was modified, so that Europeans could always claim the right to have a jury, on which Europeans were in the majority.

Lord Ripon was not brilliant; but he was a steady, experienced official, with a very fair mind. No British ruler of India ever won the sympathy of its people as he did. On his way home, his journey from Simla to Bombay was a triumphal procession.

LORD DUFFERIN

Lord Dufferin, both in Syria and in Turkey, had learned how to deal with Asiatic Rulers and officials. At Petrograd, he had represented the interests of England on the Eastern Question; and, in Egypt, he had reformed and reconstructed the whole administration.

No Viceroy, so far, had been better prepared for work in India. He was great diplomatist and statesman; a man of tact and versatility, of rare judgment, and with a very tenacious will.

(*a*) The Indian National Congress was formed. Its founder was Mr. Allan Hume, a retired official of the Indian Civil Service. Its aim was to help Government to know the wishes of Indians and the means of fulfilling them. It was a kind of

unofficial Parliament, made up of educated and prominent Indians from all parts of the country. Its first session was held in Bombay. For many years, the Congress continued to be the most representative body in India. In 1907, a break occurred between those of its members, who were more moderate, and those, who were the more extreme partisans of Reform. Till 1916 the latter held aloof. Then they re-entered Congress and, under the leadership of Tilak, grew all powerful; they finally forced the Moderates to leave the Congress in 1919. The Congress then came under the control of Mr. Gandhi; and, rapidly changing its original character, it gave its influence to non-co-operation. The Congress no longer stands for the connection of India with the British Empire. As a representative body it is still influential. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu acted as its President in 1926. She was the first Indian lady to do so.

(*b*) The Russians had advanced steadily towards Afghanistan in extending their territory. General Komarov took Panjdeh, an Afghan village between Herat and Merv; a storm of indignation arose in India, and in Afghanistan, and in Great Britain. War threatened; but the diplomatic tact of Lord Dufferin prevented conflict. He interviewed the Amir, Abdur Rahman at Rawalpindi; a combind Russian and Afghan Commission was appointed; Panjdeh was given to Russia; a boundary line was laid down and accepted by both parties. The Amir was pleased at this success of diplomacy; for, he wanted, at any cost, to keep both the Russians and the British out of his territory. A Durbar was held in his honour at Rawalpindl; and a treaty was signed. By this Treaty of Rawalpindi, Lord Dufferin, at the wish of the Amir, agreed to help him with money and material in a defensive war; but the Amir did not want the help of British soldiers.

(*c*) Burmese officials intrigued wlth France, and ill-treated British subjects in Burma. This led to war and ended in the annexation of Upper Burma.

(*d*) Rent Acts were passed to better the position of the

tenant in Bengal and Oudh; and in the Punjab.

LORD LANSDOWNE

Before his arrival in India, Lord Lansdowne had been under-Secretary for War, and Governor-General of Canada.

(*a*) A mission to the Amir decided which of the tribes dwelling in the districts between British and Afghan territories should come under the political influence of each country. This is known as the "sphere of influence policy". It controlled the foreign relations of the tribes, without interfering in their internal affairs. This improved the British frontier defence, and settled the southern and eastern frontiers of Afghanistan.

(*b*) The value of the rupee needed steadying. It had slowly fallen in value from 2s. 6d. to less than a shilling. India found it hard to pay her debts, in countries which had a gold currency. So, the free coinage of silver was suspended and the Government undertook to exchange gold for silver, at the rate of fifteen rupees for a sovereign. This fixed the value of the rupee at 16d.

(*c*) Owing to difficulties in setting the boundary line on the north-east frontier, hostilities broke out against Tibet. One result was that the Raja of Sikkim came under British protection.

(*d*) The second Indian Councils Act was passed. This raised the number of non-officials and Indians in the Legislative councils. Public bodies, such as Municipalities, were empowered to elect their representatives to Provincial Councils; and these repersentatives could choose their own representative on the Imperial Council. Members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils were invited to discuss, under certain restrictions, the financial proposals of the Government. On other matters placed before them by the Government, their opinion was invited.

LORD ELGIN II

During his term of office, frontier disputes were still further settled. The boundary, separating British Burmā from Siam and China, was agreed upon. Next, the limits of Russian and British political spheres of influence in the Pamirs, beyond Kashmir, were prescribed. Finally, two Afghan campaigns, one in the Chitral and the other in the Tirah, were carried on. The offending tribesmen of these districts were punished; but they were not subdued. Chitral was, however, permanently occupied.

2

Viceroys of the Twentieth Century

LORD CURZON

Before he was appointed Viceroy, Lord Curzon had not only deeply studied Eastern problems, but had travelled widely in Persia, and in the Far East, and in India. He had thus acquired knowledge which fitted him for his work as Viceroy. In India, he began to deal thoroughly with every department of Administration. He wanted reform; but being, like Dalhousie, energetic and masterful, he, perhaps, went too fast The feverish energy of Dalhousie had awakened mutinous feelings; the East detests hustling; hence, Lord Curzon, by the incessant change that he introduced, may have accelerated the outbreak of unrest and of political crime that followed after resignation. Almost every administrative change that he made, has, however. shown itself to be an improvement. 'If his pace was too fast and his improvements too many', his place among Viceroys will, nevertheless, be prominent. On his return to England, he was created the Earl of Keddleston, and led the Conservative Party in the House of Lords. During the Great War, he was a prominent member of the War

Cabinet; and, after the War, acted under the Coalition Government, as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He continued in office when, in 1922, the Conservative Party under Mr. Bonar Law came into power. During the government of the Labour Party, he remained the leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Lords; and, when the Conservative Party, under Mr. Baldwin, resumed government, he acted as Foreign Minister. His death occurred in 1925.

(*a*) Lord Curzon aimed at putting a stop to the costly and useless punitive expeditions on the N.W. Frontier; so, he withdrew isolated British outposts on the Frontier, and secured guards for the passes by levies taken from the local tribesmen. He formed the N.W. Frontier Province by uniting parts of the Punjab with certain tribal districts. This Province was placed directly under the Central Government of India.

(*b*) *Invasion of Tibet*:—The Tibetans were intriguing with Russia, and had obstructed trade with India, and had ignored previous conventions with the British, They made no reply to official enquiries from the Viceroy. A small force was sent into Tibet. Lhassa was taken. The Tibetans had to pay a small indemnity. The suzerainty of China over Tibet was confirmed by the British Foreign Office. Tibet is now a Republic.

(*c*) Steps were taken to preserve British influence in the South of Persia and in the Persian Gulf. Russia had secured paramount influence in Northern Persia. Great Britain secured influence in the South of Persia. Germany won Turkey over, and began to built the Berlin-Byzantium-Begdad Railway. To counteract German influence in Persia, the South of Persia was peacefully controlled. Koweit war occupied by the British.

(*a*) *Finance*:—Legislation, making gold a legal tender for payment of debts was completed. The limit of exemption from the Income Tax was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000; the tax on salt was reduced by half a rupee.

(*b*) *Famine Relief*:—Irrigation Works and Railways, which served to lessen the rigours of famine, were not bound to pay Government a part of their profits. Measures were taken to protect the peasant in time of famine against rapacious money lenders. By the land Alienation Act, peasants, when in debt, were not allowed to pledge their holdings to money-lenders. Capital was obtained for the petty tradesman, by the Co-operative Societies' Act. Loans could be had from Co-operative societies at a low rate of interest.

(*c*)*The Delhi Durbar*:—Queen Victoria died in 1901; and, when Edward VII ascended the throne, Lord Curzon held a magnificent Durbar at Delhi. He was much criticised for the pomp displayed on that occasion.

(*d*) *Antiquities*:—An Act to preserve ancient monuments was passed. These monuments, and the searching for other historic treasures, are entrusted to the Archaeological Department of India.

(*e*) *Education*:—The Indian Universities established in 1857 needed reform. After much labour and enquiry, Lord Curzon drew up the Universities Act. It reduced the excessive membership of the Senate, reformed the Syndicates, or executive bodies, pleced the affiliation or disaffilation of colleges in the hands of Government, and provided for the official inspection of affiliated colleges. But the Act was strongly opposed and had to be dropped; for, vested interests were much affected by the Act; official control was objected to; Lord Curzon was unjustly accused of being hostile to the educated classes. The Act made him very unpopular, with the higher classes of Indians, who claimed independence in matters of education.

(*f*) A treaty existed by which, after all administrative expenses had been paid, the surplus revenue in Berar should be given to the Nizam. But the Nizam rarely got any surplus revenue. Lord Curzon, therefore, came to an agreement with the Nizam, bv which Berar was leased to the Indian Government, in return for an annual payment of twenty-five lakhs and an immediate deposit of forty-one lakhs.

(*g*) In 1903, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal proposed the plan of lightening the burden of government on his shoulders. He had to govern 189,030 square miles with a population of seventy-eight millions. It was impossible to do so efficiently. Lord Curzon, therefore, divided Bengal into Cengal Proper and Eastern Bengal; to Eastern Bengal, he added Assam, and placed them under a new Lieutenant Governor. This partition gave rise to passionate resentment. The Bengali nation, it was said, had thus been torn asunder. Lord Curzon, however, was supported by the Secretary of State. But though excitment had greatly died down, and Eastern Bengal and Assam had already realised the benefits of the partition, King George V, at his Durbar in Delhi, announced that Bengal would be under a Governor-in-Council; that Bihar and Orissa would be under a Lieutenant-Governor; and that Assam would have a Chief Commissioner. This pleased the people.

Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief, claimed that the Commander-in-Chief of India should, not only control the executive command in India, but should also be the military member or war minister on the Viceroy's Council. Lord Curzon held that the two posts should be filled by different men, and that both men should be under the Viceroy's control because, thereby, the military power would be more under the authority of the civil power. The Home Government was appealed to and agreed with Lord Kitchener's views. Lord Curzon thereupon resigned.

LORD MINTO

Lord Minto had sedition and political reform to mark his term of office.

(*a*) The victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War caused intense excitement throughout Asia. The agitation in India awakened by the Universities Act, the partition of Bengal, and other grievances arising from many administrative changes, were stimulated by this victory of a small Asiatic State over a vast European Power. The agitation, thus awakened, became

a dangerous revolutionary and anarchist conspiracy. It was directed in India by secret societies in Calcutta and in Poona; it was helped by foreign organisations in Europe and in America. This conspiracy sought to destroy British Government by establishing general terrorism. Several British officials were murdered. Two bombs were thrown at the Viceroy at Ahmedabad; but they failed to explode. Seditious writing in the Press caused great mischief. As time went on, the conspiracy developed and spread to the Punjab. Serious attempts to break the loyalty of Indian troops were discovered. Some of the leading conspirators were caught and executed. The Law against sedition was strengthened by the Seditious Meetings Act, any by the Summary Justice Act, by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and by the Press Act.

(*b*) The Opium trade was officially stopped, though it meant a loss in revenue of about nine crores of rupees. This loss had to be made good by increased taxation.

(*c*) Edward's VII's Proclamation declared that racial distinctions would not hinder access to posts of authority. It deemed that the time had come, when the principle of representative institution should be prudently extended. In the third Indian Councils Act, these statements were acted upon. The Legislative Councils were largely increased in membership; and, in each Province, elections were to be so arranged that the various communities should be fairly represented. In some Provincial Legislative Concils, the official majority of members was done away with; elected members were allowed to move resolutions; Indians were appointed to the India Concil in England, and to the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils in India. These improvements are known as the Morley-Minto Reforms.

LORD HARDINGE

Lord Hardinge was a distinguished Foreign-office official. He was the grandson of the Governor-General, who had defeated the Sikhs in 1846. During the Russo-Japanese War,

he was the British Ambassador at Petrograd. When the "Entente Cordiale" with France, was agreed upon, he was present as Foreign Secretary to Edward VII.

(*a*) At the beginning of his term of offiice, the King Emperor and the Queen visited India. Their purpose was "to secure a better understanding and a closer union between the Mother Country and her Indian Empire, to break down prejudice, to dispel misapprehension, and to foster sympathy and brotherhood". At Delhi, a Coronation Durbar was held. Delhi was made the new capital of India. This was done to revive the historical connection of the city with the ruling Power in India; for, Delhi had been the ancient capital of Hindustan. But, in spite of the Royal Visit, Lord Hardinge, towards the close of the following year was wounded by a bomb at Delhi.

(*b*) In 1912 the Government of India Act created Legislative Councils for districts under a Chief Commissioner, and introduced an Executive Council in the new Lieutenant-Governorship of Bihar and Orissa.

(*c*) On August, 4th, England entered the Great War. This step on the part of England evoked deep manifestations of loyalty and of spontaneous service from all parts of India. The King-Emperor, in his message to the Princes and peoples of India, warmly acknowledged such devotion to his throne. He declared that this practical loyalty in the hour of trial was a noble ful-filment of the assurance they had given him, at the Coronation Durbar, that the destinies of Great Britain and India were indissolubly linked.

Lord Hardinge had to supply troops for France, Egypt, Africa and Mesopotamia. Sir Beauchamp Duff was their Commander-in-Chief. At first, the Indian effort in the Mesopotamian Campaign proved successful. General Townshend, after taking Busra, marched on the Baghdad; but, meeting with larger Turkish forces, he had to retire and surrender at Kut-el-Amara. A better organised force, under General Maude,

resumed the attack and took Baghdad. Other successes follwed. Mosul was occupied. In the meantime, General Allenby carried on a victorious campaign against the Tursk in Palestine and Syria. The Turks made peace.

On the battle fields of France, and in the campaigns carried on in Palestine and in East Africa, Indian troops fought gallantly; they won unstinted praise from the generals, under whom they served.

(*d*) In 1914, a party of Hindus from the Punjab, who had emigrated to Vancouver on board the "Komagata Maru" and had not been allowed to land there, returned to India. The Ingress to India Act, which, owing to the War, gave the Government power to control all persons entering India, was now applied to the party. They were allowed to land, but were ordered to take train at Budge-Budge for the Punjab. This they violently refused to do. Some were shot down and the others were arrested. Their trial revealed a deep scheme of revolution called the Ghadr conspiracy. This discovery led to the Defence of India Realms Act. This Act provided that special tribunals be formed, to try cases of sedition; there was to be no appeal from the decisions of this tribunal. The Act also allowed Government to intern, without trial, anyone suspected of sedition. It was an emergency Act to last till six months after the ending of the War. Thus, long and difficult judicial processes were suspended. In the Imperial Legislative Council, the loyalty of Indians was strikingly shown in the unanimous passing of this Act.

(*e*) The Mahsuds, an Afghan tribe, took to raiding. But they were for a time left alone. A great plot of theirs against the British Government, fostered by German agents, was discovered and foiled. Afghanistan itself was pro-German in feeling; but the Amir, Habibullah Khan, remained neutral, though his difficulties increased as time went on.

(*f*) Lord Hardinge was much interested in education. New Universities were opened. Mysore was allowed its own

University. A University for Indian women was begun at Poona. Primary Education was encouraged.

A Royal Commission enquired into the public services of India the military policy of India, and its financial position.

At the request of many leading Indians, Lord Hardinge's term of office was extended for a year. During that time, he abolished the system of indentured coolie labour, which had led to bitter quarrels between the Indians and the Colonists of South Africa. His hearty support was also given to the resolution of the Indian Legislative Council : that at the next Imperial Conference in London, India should be represented. Hence by his wise administration, his deep sympathy and his acceptable reforms, Lord Hardinge won high esteem in India.

LORD CHELMSFORD

Before his appointment in India, Lord Chelmsford had governed Queensland and New South Wales with success. He assumed office at a critical time. The pressing strain of the Great War, the ever brewing troubles on the Frontier caused by the unsteady attitude of Afghanistan and by the restlessness of the Tribesmen, the smouldering embers of the Gadhr conspiracy, the ravages of influenza and of famine, and the high prices during the Great War for necessaries of life were some of the difficulties he had to face. Sedition was spreading; and the British military forces in India were small.

(*a*) The Indian Defence Force was or ganised. All British subjects, under the age of forty-five, were held liable for service in any part of India.

(*b*) A Conference of Indian Princes and Chiefs met at Delhi. The Viceroy hoped it would grow into a Constitutional Assembly. The Gaekwar, who was spokesman, thought it necessary that Indian rulers should have a definite place in the Constitution of the Empire and a share in the administration of India; for, in territory they possessed one-third of India and

their subjects formed one-fourth of its population. Accordingly, in 1919, by the King's proclamation, a permanent Chamber of Princes was established. It contains the Viceroy as President, and Members and Representative Members. The Members are those Rulers of States, who are entitled to a salute of eleven guns or more, and possess such powers in their States as qualify them for membership. The Representative members are those who do not enjoy these rights; but fulfil the other requirements for membership. The Chamber has no executive power; it is an advisory body.

(*c*) Afghanistan, which had been a source of anxiety throughout the Great War, gave serious trouble shortly after the Treaty of Versailles was signed. The Afghans and Tribesmen under Amanullah raided British territory; but they were soon checked. Though peace was arranged with the Afghans, desultory warfare against Mahsud and Waziri tribes continued for some time, A more detailed account of this war is found in the chapter dealing with Afghanistan.

(*d*) The political situation grew complex. There were two political currents running strongly towards the same goal of Swaraj or Home-rule, or the government of India by Indians. The first political current carried along with it those educated Indians, who sought by constitutional agitation, to secure Swaraj: the other current bore those who were ready to adopt even unconstitutional means to the same end.

The first was generally called the Moderate or Liberal party the second was called the Extremist or non-co-operator or Swarajist party. Both agreed in this, that they demanded Swaraj or Home-rule for India; but there were great differences between them. The Moderates or Liberals wanted to go by stages and along a safe road to their goal; they wanted India to be self-governing, but to remain a part of the British Empire. The other party wanted Swaraj or Home-rule at once, and did not wish to be part of the British Empire; they wanted India to be a Republic.

In reply to their demand for Home-rule, Mr. Lloyd

George, the Prime Minister of England, announced that, in recognition for her loyalty in the Great War, India would be granted self-government; but that it would remain a part of the British Empire. This self-government or Swaraj would be granted, step by step. In the opinion of the British Parliament, India was not yet ripe for full Swaraj. Still the announcement was meant to be a step forward in the political Constitution of India. It meant that the British would gradually give up their ruling of India, and that an Indian Assembly or Parliament would take their place. In connection with this announcement, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, came out to India. With the Viceroy he travelled over the country, to ascertain the wishes of India in connection with the new proposal. They issued the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. This scheme was placed before Parliament. A joint-council, later on, issued the Government of India Act, which embodied far-reaching effects. At first, this Act was thrown open to criticism; but it became Law two years later.

Thus, in 1921, a new Legislature was laid down for India. This new Legislature was promulgated at a Durbar held in Delhi. The Duke of Connaught presided and announced the King-Emperor's message, which declared that Swaraj within the Empire was about to begin its course; and that the widest scope, and most ample opportunity for progress towards the liberty, which other Dominions enjoyed, would be accorded to India.

In the new Legislature, thus inaugurated and based on the Government of India Act, the non-official or elected members of the Imperial Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State would possess an absolute majority over any number of votes that the Imperial Executive Council could possibly command. Lord Chelmsford, therefore, when addressing the Durbar, remarked that the principle of autocracy in the administration of India had thereby been definitely discarded. Responsibility for the government of the country would, in future, rest with the elected representatives of the people in the Imperial Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State.

The Moderates or Liberals, who believed in an orderly and gradual winning of Swaraj, supported the Government. Their leaders took their places in the reformed Legislative Councils.

But the Extremist or Non-co-operator or Swarajist party in no way accepted the announcement made by the Secretary of State; nor did they approve of the Government of India act. During those two years from 1919 to 1921, they went from sedition to anarchy.

There were several causes for this regrettable political development.

1° During the Great War, an emergency measure, called the Defence of India Realms Act, had come into force. This allowed of the summary judicial trial and punishment of seditionists; but it was only to last till six months after peace should have been declared. It had met with the approval of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. But wide-spread plots then existed, fostered by Bolshevists, for the overthrow of British authority. So, a judicial commission of four eminent judges, with Sir Sydney Rowlatt as president, was appointed by the Indian Government to study the growth of sedition in India since 1897, and to propose a remedy to check the progress of sedition. Two of these judges were Indians, one from Madras and the other from Bengal. The Commission came to the conclusion that the existing means of combatting sedition were inadequate. More drastic measures were proposed. These were embodied in the Rowlatt Act, which was passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in face of the unanimous dissent of the non-official Indian members of the Council. These held that the Rowlatt Act would hinder the free growth of public political life, for it tended to harass individual freedom. They did not impugn the facts upon which the Act rested; nor did they propose new measures to cope with the sedition that was rife. They proposed keeping to the Defence of India Realms Act; they maintained that, if the Rowlatt Act were not repealed, political conflagration would

rage in India. Their forecast served to flatter sedition and to harden the Government; but it was, nevertheless, not far short of the truth.

At this stages, Mr. Gandhi came forward to champion the cause of political freedom in India. Of medium size, frail, keenly intelligent and ascetical, he stood an embodiment of soul-force over physical power. As a lawyer, he had practised in South Africa and had, by his method of passive resistance, won success against the unfair treatment of the Indians there. He had left South Africa with no friendly feeling for the British system of government; and, on his return to India, first used his method of passive resistance at Champaran in Bihar to annul the obligation, imposed on the tenants, of alloting a part of their holdings to the cultivation of indigo; and he again employed the same means in the Kaira district of the Bombay Presidency, to lessen the amount of revenue to be paid, after famine had visited that district.

Having gained successful experience in South Africa, and in these two districts of India, Mr. Gandhi set about to obtain the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, by employing his policy of passive resistance. At bottom, this resistance was organised civil disobedience to Government; but it was to be carried on without violence. It was called Satyagraha. Mr. Gandhi described it as follows : "Satyagraha is truth in all your doings. This implies : (A) resistance to evil in yourself; (B) civil assistance to the State in resisting evil; (C) civil resistance to the State if the State be evil; (D) this civil resistance should be passive and non-violent; (E) soul-force should overcome brute force."

His voice was heard from one end of India to the other. All parties knit themselves together under his leadership. He awakened to full life and strength that sense of nationhood, which had recently shown itself in a demand for Home-rule or Swaraj.

The campaign for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act began by

the observance of a great hartal or day of mourning all over India. At Delhi, the hartal led to rioting at the railway station, and caused loss of life. Mr. Gandhi set out for Delhi; but he was brought back to Bombay. This return was rumoured as an arrest; and this rumour led, through rioting, to serious loss of life at Amritsar, Ahmedabad, Viramgaon, Lahore and other places.

2° While this movement, which was predominantly Hindu, grew apace, Pan-Islam, starting from Turkey, wrought deeply upon Moslem religious feeling in India. Turkey had been defeated in the Great War. When Turkey sued for peace, the Allies, among whom was Great Britain, obliged Turkey to sign the Treaty of Sevres. This Treaty quite broke the power of Turkey; its conditions were extremely stern; through them, the territorial boundaries of Turkey shrank practically to the State of Angora. Now by this loss of territory, Turkey had to give up control over those parts in Arabia, which contain the holy places of Islam. These places are found in a tract of country known as the Zazirat-ul-Arab. But, according to the Sharak, a sacred canon of Islam, this tract of territory had always to be in the possession of, and to be protected by, the Khalifa or spiritual and temporal head of Islam in those parts. This Khalifa was, in reality, the Sultan of Turkey. He filled the official position called the Khilafat of Turkey; or, in other words, the Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa or the Khilafat of Turkey, and, as such he had, and had to have, the control over the holy places of Islam, found in the territory known as the Zazirat-ul-Arab.

In order to escape from the Treaty of Sevres, the politicians of Turkey hit upon a shrewd scheme. They worked upon the religious feelings of the Moslems in India. They declared that the spoliation of Turkey by the Treaty of Sevres was a Christian attempt to destory Islam They stated that the Khilafat of Turkey was the Khilafat of the whole of Islam. This doctrine had been preached, for the first time, some years previously, by the late Sultan Hamid of Turkey. But this new doctrine had not been accepted by the Nizam of Haidarabad, nor by

the Amir of Afghanistan, nor by the Sultan of Morocco, nor by the Moslem people of British India. Yet, somehow, owing to the influence of the politicians of Turkey, Sultan Hamid's doctrine was stoutly defended by the Moslems of British India from 1919 to 1921. They maintained that, if Turkey did not get back all her lost territory, the Sultan of Turkey could not continue as the Khalifa of Turkey; if he could not remain as the Khalifa of Turkey, the Khilafat of Turkey would disappear; if it disapeared Islam would lose its rallying point or centre of unity; Islam would decline; therefore, every Moslem, no matter what his political allegiance might be, had to strive, even with the sword, to recover for Turkey all her lost possessions; or, in other words, every Moslem in the world had to do his best to have the Treaty of Sevres repealed. This attitude of Moslem India was the result that the politicians of Turkey, by working upon the religious feeling of the Moslems in British India, wanted to obtain. Feeding rose high. A deputation of leading Moslems, among whom were the Ali Brothers, was sent to Lord Chelmsford; they told him that eternal damnation lay in wait for them, if the Khilafat of Turkey were destroyed. The Viceroy dryly replied that eternity did not come under his jurisdiction; but that so far as the Government of British India was in question, it had nothing to do with the Treaty of Sevres; the British Government of India could only refer the condition of Moslem opinion to the consideration of the British Parliament; and he reminded the deputation that Great Britain was only one of the Allies, against whom Turkey had fought and had lost. How hollow this Turkish pretence to save the Khilafat was, came to light when, later on in 1922, the Angora Assembly of loyal Turks did away with the temporal Sultanate, and thus expelled the Khalifa, and abolished the Khilafat. This drastic action caused intense surprise to the Moslems in India.

But, before this change in Turkey took place, agitation had been set on foot in India to have all Turkey's possessions restored, if Islam were not to suffer.

Mr. Gandhi was not slow to see how powerful an aid

the Khilafat question could be. He made the appeal that Moslem and Hindu should unit in bringing pressuse to bear upon the Government, in order to repeal the Rowlatt Act; and, by the repeal of the Treaty of Sevres, to make the British Government do justice to Turkey.

3° Surface unity between Moslem and Hindu was brought about. This fusion made political feeling run very high. Not only the man in the street, but also the skilled lawyer, found that it was hard to tell which of its doings was constitutional agitation and which was sedition. An instance of this was the sad affair that took place at Amritsar. Unrest in the Punjab had grown very strong. At Amritsar, martial law had to be proclaimed. This law means that, when the civil authority finds itself powerless to control a population, it calls in and hands over its authority to the military. The military draw up a temporary law, and enforce it till such time as the civil authority can resume control. In carrying out its temporary law, the military are to act in good faith, and are responsible for what is done to restore order. Now, in the town of Amritsar, martial law had forbidden seditious meetings. A vast crowd, however, gathered in a public spot called the Jallianwallah Baugh. Those, who convened the meeting, said they did so to agitate constitutionally for their political rights; but in the eyes of General Dyer, who was in military command of the city, the meeting was seditious.

The meeting refused to disperse when ordered to do so, and was fired upon. About 500 were killed and a great number wounded. This stern measure caused intense indignation. A committee under Sir Archibald Hunter investigated the unfortunate incident. Two reports were drawn up. The Majority report by British officials justified lhe employment of martial law, and blamed Satyagraha for the spirit of rebellion; but it admitted that some of the orders passed by General Dyer were wanting in judgment; it condemned, among other things, the rollcall imposed on Indian students at Lahore; and the crawling-order, which obliged Indians to crawl through those streets in which Europeans had lost their lives in the recent

rioting. The Minority report by Indians denied that disorders amounted to rebellion; found Martial Law need not have been enforced; and, while admitting Satyagraha had exercised a disquieting influence, maintained that not Satyagraha, but mobfrenzy had caused the disturbance; they condemned the whole attitude of General Dyer, and attributed all his actions to racial ill-feeling. Both reports were sent to the House of Commons. The House strongly censured General Dyer's actions and cashiered him. But the House of Lords was not of the same mind. This House felt that, by putting out this flame of rebellion, the conflagration, which had been spoken of by the Indian non-official members at the Legislation Assembly of 1918, had been extinguished.

But this regrettable incidentstrengthened the hold which Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers had upon the country. The former declared the British Government was "satanic"; he exhorted India to offer civil resistance to it but without violence. Such passive civil disobedience aimed at ridding India of British control. Thus Satyagraha became non-co-operation.

Mr. Gandhi defined its various stages as : (A) the hartal or mourning designed to wean Indians from all dealings with the Government; (B) the renouncing of Government titles and distinctions and the withdrawal of all Indians from Government employment; (C) the leaving of their posts by the police and the military, the two forces by which Government maintains order; (D) the refusal to pay the taxes or to obey any civil laws under so evil a Government.

Non-co-operation wanted to afflict Government with political paralysis. Mr. Gandhi admitted that it could lead to revolution with blood-shed.

4° Fortunately, he and the Moslems found that they had now to occupy themselves with another matter. As has been said, the Government of India Act, with its measures for self-government in the provinces and for the enlarging of the

non-official Indian representation in the Imperial councils, had became law. Mr. Gandhi and the Moslems maintained that the Act should be ignored. They wanted a Swaraj that would be independent of the British Empire; and they wanted it at once, whether with or without social chaos. They held that non-co-operation would give them Swaraj. So they added to its programme, the boycott of Law-courts, of Government schools, and of the new Legislature proposed by the Act. Mr. Gandhi promised that, within a year, the swaraj, which non-co-operation wanted, would be won. He thus secured the powerful support of the Indian National Congress; which, in order to give its help, renounced its traditional aim to preserve the connection of India with the British Empire; and, in consequence, changed its original constitution. Schools and colleges, refusing all Government aid and based on purely Indian ideals, were started. In almost every Indian village, committees actively taught non-co-operation as the short cut to the coming millenium. A detailed campaign against Government was carried on by the Congress Working Committee, whose orders were to be carried out by the National Militia of volunteers. Thus sedition had developed into anarchy.

(*e*) Despite the political situation, Lord Chelmsford made some reforms.

In 1916 the educated classes of India were bitterly dissatisfied. India's effort in the Great Warseemed to have been little appreciated; her position in the Commonwealth was ill defined; the goal of British rule in India had never been fully stated; on racial grounds, Indians had been deprived of the privilege of bearing arms; they could not aspire to the King's Commission in the army; in the Imperial Service of India their status was unimportant; the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 gave them no power of control over the Executive; some of the Dominions refused to acknowledge their equal footing as British subjects.

But by the close of Lord Chelmsford's term of office, much for the better had been done: the goal of British rule in

India had been stated; it told India she could look forward to self-government, as a dominion within the British Empire; in consequence, racial stigma was removed from the Arms Act; this Act was repealed; Indian soldiers could hold the King's Commission in the army; Indian youths could get a military training in Sandhurst or in the Territorial units, and learn how to fit themselves for the defence of their country; India became a member of the Imperial Conference; her representatives signed the Treaty of Versailled; she became an original member of the League of Nations; she was represented at the Armament Conference held at Washington; and the self-governing Dominions, with one exception, accepted her new position in the British Commonwealth; and viewed her not as a dependency but as a sister nation, on the path to complete equality with themselves.

These services to India will in the future characterise Lord Chelmsford's term of office as one in which important changes were wrought. In its manifold difficulties, his term of office had proved a very trying one; but, throughout, he had maintained a cool and determined mind, and had bluntly carried out his duty. During his viceroyalty, India had come under the stress of the Great War. When he had arrived, the first outburst of war-enthusiasm had died out. Depression had set in. Despite this, he had borne the great burden of giving to the Empire large supplies of men, of money and of material such as could ill be spared, at a time, when he had to safeguard India alike from external aggression and internal disaster.

LORD READING

Before his appointment as Viceroy, Lord Reading had, by force of talent and of character, worked his way up in life to the exalted position of Lord Chief Justice of England. His liberal views, his wide experience, his diplomatic services and his judicial career, combined to fit him for his work at the helm, at a time when the bark of State was setting out to steer itself by the new Legislature in face of the stormy political outlook.

In the last chapter, it was shown that there were two political currents in India, which were running towards the same goal of Swaraj, or Home-rule, or Self-Government of India by Indians. One of these political parties was, and is called the Moderate or Liberal party; the other was known as the Extremist, or Non-co-operator, or Swarajist party. It was shown in the last chapter that the former of these two parties supported, and the latter party opposed, the Government and its working of the new Legislature; it was also shown how the latter party was influenced by the Rowlatt Act, the Khilafat Question and the Jallianwallah incident: it developed from an attitude of sedition to one of anarchy.

In this chapter an account is first given of how this party proceeded along its path of anarchy; and then an account of what the Moderate party did with the Government to secure sound Swaraj.

(*a*) The Extreme party drifted along its course of anarchy. Mr. Gandhi had added to Satyagraha, the principles of non-co-operation. The working of these principles led to out-breaks of revolt in several parts of India.

1° In the Punjab, a reforming section of the Sikh community upbraided the Mahants or hereditary guardians of the Gurudwaras or shrines, for their long neglect of duty. Into this quarrel the spirit of non-co-operation was brought by the Akali volunteers, who were strongly revolutionary. They disregarded Law and seized the shrine at Tara-Taran. Rioting with loss of life ensued.

2° Mr. Gandhi, who still held for non-violence, now started the boycott of liquorshops, and of foreign cloth; he advocated the use of khaddar or cloth woven by the spinning-wheel. But this did not satisfy most of his followers. They, and the Khilafatists in particular, sought revolution. For, when the National Militia had its doings checked by Law, mob violence broke out at Giridih in Bihar, at Malegaon near Bombay, and in several parts of the Madras Presidency. At

this stage, the Greek offensive against Turkey, and the failure to modify the Treaty of Sevres, drove Mohamedan feeling to resolve at Karachi that the Indian National Congress should declare India, a republic.

3° This Karachi resolution, combined with the violent religious propaganda of the Ali Brothers and with Mr. Gandhi's promise of speedy Swaraj, spread the flame of Mohamedan feeling from mosque to mosque, from village to village of the Moplahs, a turbulent mixed Arab and Hindu race, living in the Malabar district. In their uprising they killed the few European planters whom they caught unawares; and, on meeting with no support from loyal Hindus there, massacred them, deserated their temples, made forcible conversions and did other abominable deeds. With strenuous efforts, Government quelled this outbreak. But Mr. Gandhi condoned it as : "a fighting for what the Moplahs cosidered religion, and in a manner which they considered religious". Viewing the outbreak in the same light as Mr. Gandhi did, the Ali Brothers maintained that, whatever religion demanded, should be above the control of Law. So violently did they assail the Government that the Ali Brothers were arrested and sent to prison for two years.

4° The imprisonment of the Ali Brothers led to an All-India Congress, which retaliated against the Government by advocating civil disobedience on the part of the masses. This meant the wilful breaking of the Law so as to make Government impossible, and thus to lead to its overthrow. The Government was viewed as wholly evil and its laws as non-moral. In the Anand and Bardoli districts of the Guzarat Province, civil disobedience was prepared for. At this juncture, the Prince of Wales arrived in India. His visit was viewed as political. On the day he arrived, serious rioting broke out in Bombay. Mr. Gandhi, who was in the city, publicly said : "The swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils. I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being a spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit." The National Militia

took him at his word, and practised terrorism more effectively, till Government applied the Sedition Meetings Act, and called on the Police to give more stalwart protection to defenceless citizens.

5° All Indian politicians, however, viewed this action of Government as suppressive of freedom of speech and of political association. In order to thrash the situation out, both Moderates and Extremists proposed a Round-Table Conference to the Viceory; but he replied that such a conference was not possible unless non-co-operation respected Law. Mr. Gandhi also declared that the Conference was not possible, unless Government gave up its attitude towards the National Militia, and released all political prisoners: without this, he said that he would not stop recruitment for the Militia nor preparation for wholesale civil disobedience. His attitude led the Moderates back to the support of Government. At the meeting, which folled at Ahmedabad, of the Indian National Congress and the All India-Moslem League, Mr. Gandhi, in whom all the executive power lay, resolved that the Viceroy be made to understand that non-co-operation was at war with the Government. He sent an ultimatum to him, blaming him for the dropping of the Round-Table Conference; and he proposed that, if all political prisoners were freed and the progress of non-co-operation left unmolested, civil disobedience would be held over, till such time as it might take the freed politicians to gauge and advise upon the situation in India.

6° Non-co-operation was now at high tide. Its ebb set in. The Khilafatist party, which stood upon the ground that the Government was anti-Islam, felt taking aback when Afghanistan, the leading Islam kingdom of Central Asia, leagued itself in friendship with that Government. Not long after this treaty, the Government published the memorandum it had sent to the Home Government, in which had stated that the intense Moslem feeling in India called for the modifying of the Treatv of Sevres. Government had also urged the evacuation of Constantinople by the Allies; the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey over the holy places; and the restoration

to Turkey of Eastern Thrace including Adrianople and Smyrna. Moslem opinion than realised that the Government was not anti-Islam, and that more would be gained by supporting it rather than the schemes of Mr. Gandhi.

But the latter, having received from the Viceroy a crushing reply to his ultimatum, and having found that the activity of the National Militia was being curbed more sharply than had been expected, went to Bardoli to supervise the starting of civil disobedience in mass. But the unprovoked massacre of a score of Indian policemen and watchmen at Chauri-Chaura by a mixed mob of Militia and rustics, shed a lurid light on civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi again took to non-violence as an ideal. The All-India Congress, however, disapproved of the change. Its turst in him had begun to wane. His Swaraj had not come with the fleeting of time. No constructive policy of his had drawn the Congress on.

7° This was the moment for which the long-sighted patience of Government had waited. It now took Mr. Gandhi into custody for a term of six years. But, after a year and a half, Mr, Gandhi's health failed him and he was released unconditionally. He resumed him work against the Government; but his influence over India was no longer so powerful as it had been.

8° Non-co-operation, however, had not brought Swaraj as had been expected. The most intellectual and powerful of Mr. Gandhi's followers came to believe that the shortest way to wreck the Government and to win Swaraj was to control the New Legislature. This they could only do by securing their election to the Provincial Legislative Councils, and by entering through them into the Imperial Legislative Assembly. If their admission into these Councils were obtained, it would enable them to frustrate the rule of the Government over India. At a congress held at Gya in 1922, these followers of Mr. Gandhi discarded non-co-operation, and formed what is known as the Swaraj Party. Its leaders were Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das. They action sounded the knell of non-co-

operation. But Mr. Gandhi and the remainder of his followers stood for no change in the principles of non-co-operation. However, at a congress held at Delhi in 1923, a compromise was brought about. Non-co-operation was not to be given up, nor was entry into the Councils to be renounced; but the Swarajists were to entre the Council and to apply non-co-operation there. The Swarajists succeeded in getting into the Councils in 1924. In the Central Provinces, they brought the working of the New Legislature to a standstill; in Bengal they did the same. In both cases, the Government had to rule these Provinces on the lines followed previous to the New Legislature. Hence, though the Swarajists caused much annoyance, they could not overthrow Government. Since then saner views seem to be gaining ground amongst them.

(*b*) Throughout this politically stormy time, the New Legislature, aided by the Moderate Party, guided the bark of State. Wherever possible, repressive legislation was done away with; resolutions for the removal of racial distinctions from the Indian Civil Service were accepted; Indian candidates for this Service could sit for its competitive entrance-examination in India; in criminal cases, only those Europeans, who are not subjects of British India, might claim to have a Jury, whose majority was composed of Europeans; confidential posts in the Secretariat, such as deal with the inner administration of the country, have since been alloted to Indians.

In 1923, the Imperial Legislative Assembly demanded a more rapid Indianisation of the Public Services. The Services, too had been agitating for an enquiry into the conditions in which they had to work under the New Legislature; and they had asked for an increase of salary in proportion to the increased cost of living. So a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the matter; its Chairman was Lord Lee. The Commission studied the organisation and general conditions of the superior Services in India, and the transformation of these Services from an Imperial to a Provincial status. The Commission had also to decide upon the best means of securing for the Services, the recruitment of Indians and of Euro-

peans in such proportion, as would maintain the responsibility of the British Parliament for the government of India, and fulfil the declared policy of Parliament to give Indians a greater share in the government of their country. After touring India to obtain evidence, the Commission recommended that an All-India body, called the Public Service Commission, should be established in order to protect the Services from political influences, and thus to give them security and stability; appointments to the Services in the department of transferred subjects should be made by the Provincial or Local Governments; and appointments to the Political, Imperial Customs, and Ecclesiatical departments should be made by the Secretary of State; as to the Indianisation of the Civil Sercice, it was recommended that the equal division of its members into European and Indian should be carried out without undue delay; the medical needs of the British and Indian armies should be met by the Royal Army Medical Corps, the Indian Medical Service should be replaced by a new Civil Medical Service.

When the Labour Party came into power in 1923, Lord Oliver, the Secretary of State for India. appointed a Committee to enquire into the working of the New Legislature. The Chairman of the Committee was Sir Alexander Muddiman. In 1924, its conclusion were published in a Majority and a Minority report. The Majority report stated that the New Legislature had not proved a failure: but it recommended that, in cases affecting purely Indian interests, the control of the Secretary of State over the Government of India should be lessened; the Viceroy and certain other high cfficials should be exempt from the jurisdiction of any Court of Law in India; factory labourers should be adequately represented in the Imperial Legislative Assembly; women should not be barred from membership in Provincial Legislative Councils: in important matters, joint deliberation between Executive and Legislative Councils should take place.

But the Minority report declared that the New Legislature had proved a failure. This, it said, was mainly due to the

two-fold ministry in the Provincial Executive Councils. One part of the Provincial Exercutive Council is made up of the Governor and his official colleagues; it is known as the Governor-in-Council; this Council deals with certain matters known as reserved subjects. The other part of the Provincial Executive Council consists of Indian Ministers appointed by the Governor from the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council; to them are confided what are known as transferred subjects.

These two parts of the Provincil Executive Council are called Dyarchy. The Minority report condemned Dyarchy as a principle of government; it practically called for a complete revision and a re-casting of the New Legislature.

The Imperial Legislative Assembly of 1925 voted in favour of the Minority report; but the Council of State rejected the decision of this Assembly, and approved of the Majority report. The Government of India, therefore, accepted the Majority report. Hence the New Legislature will continue its working till 1929. Then a Royal Commission, appointed by the British Parliament, will come out to India; and, after due enquiry, it will propose to the British Parliament such changes in the Legislature, as many be deemed necessary.

Amendments on the Esher report, which seemed to transfer the control of the Indian Army from the State to a central Imperial authority, were sent to the Secretary of State demanding that the control of the Indian army should remain with India; an Indian Territorial organisation of seven units for service in India was formed; an Indian military training college preparatory to Sandhurst was sanctioned; the appointment of Indian officers in control of eight Indian units of the army was granted.

There had been successive annual deficits in the Imperial Budget. This occurred, in spite of a large increase in taxation. Thus the financial position, as revealed by the Budget, lowered the financial credit of India in the world of Commerce. It was essential, therefore, that the ensuing Bedget should show

no deficit, or should show a balance between income and expenditure. Hence, a Retrenchment Commission, under Lord Inchcape, was appointed. The Commission had to suggest the means by which Government expenditure might be curtailed. It proposed that the limit in army expenditure should be fifty crores a year; the British army in India should be reduced in strength; the Royal Indian Marine Service should be reduced to such vessels as were needed for essential duties; Railways should be obliged to show an average return of fifty-on percent on the capital invested by the Government; both the G. I. P. and E. I. Railways should come under State management after two years; the Railway, Postal, and Telegraph departments should be amalgamated. Besides these, other drastic retrenchments were proposed. The result was that the ensuing Budget showed the necessary balance between income and expenditure; but, there is no doubt that the speedy carrying out of the proposals of the Inchcape Commission caused no little distress among the poorer classes of India : many employees were suddenly thrown out of employment. By its drastic retrenchments, the Commission reduced the Budget estimate of expenditure from twenty-nine to nineteen crores. But money was still needed to meet the expenditure of nineteen crores. To get some of this money, the Salt tax at Rs. 1-8-0 per maund was introduced. This met with unanimous opposition from the Imperial Legislative Assembly. But the Viceroy, acting on the advice of the Finance Minister of his Council, imposed the tax. At the same time, a fiscal commission was also appointed to give protection to the development of purely Indian industries and to guard them against foreign competition. An Ordinance was issued in November 1925, remitting the Excise duty of three per cent on the value of the produce of the Cotton industry of Bombay. The sum remitted amounted to seventy-seven lakhs.

There was a revival in Bengal of anarchy, such as had existed there before the Great War. Red leaflets advocating anarchy were spread broadcast over Bengal. Several political murders took place. A Mr. Day, a European clerk, was mistaken for the Commissioner of Police, and was shot dead

in broad daylight, and in a public thorough-fare. His murderer, Gopinath Saha, was publicly praised as a patriotic hero by Mr. C. R. Das, the Swarajist leader of Bengal. Saha was hanged. But the political tone of Bengal sounded further danger. Even Mr. C. R. Das publicly admitted the existence of an anarchic movement against the Government. The European Association of Calcutta urged the Government of Bengal to take drastic measures against the anarchists. The Bengal Government asked the Government of India for extraordinary powers to cope with the situation. An Ordinance, known as the Bengal Ordinance, came into force. It supplemented the ordinary Criminal law; it protected withnesses and Juries against terrorism; it made arrests under Regulation III of the year 1818. Those arrested were, by the Ordinance, placed under detention for six months; they were tried in secret and not in public, nor was the charge made against them revealed to the public. This Bengal Ordinance is also known as the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment. When it was placed before the Imperial Legislative Assembly for approval, it was angrily thrown out as an arbitary measure. But Lord Reading certified the Bill and thus made it law. The Swarajist Party believed it was directed against them. Anyhow, in a short time, anarchy was checked.

For the purpose of utilising the waters the Indus so as to develop irrigation in Sidh, the Sukkur Barrage Scheme was sanctioned. Thirty miles from Poona, at a place called Bhatgar, Sir George Lloyd laid the foundation stone of a dam, able to buttress a supply of watter that will irrigate 900,000 acres of Deccan soil hitherto famine-stricken. The dam was the creation of the Public Works Department under the Direction of Mr. C. Pooley and was named after the Governor. It is more than a mile long, in 125 feet wide at the base and rises to a height of 190 feet. The water stored by the Lloyd Dam forms a lake 18 miles long and 46 miles in circumference with a maximum depth of 143 feet. It is the largest irrigation work in the world.

A new railway was opened on the N.W.Frontier. It

runs through the Khyber Pass from Jamrud to Landi Khotal, a distance of twenty-seven miles. It is a great achievement, both from an engineering, and a political point of view; it is also a great military gain; commercially, it will increase trade with Afghanistan and Central Asia.

In 1924 the Labour Party in England went out of office and was succeeded by the Conservative Party under Mr. Baldwin. Lord Birkenhead was appointed Secretary of State for India. In orded to confer with him and the British Cabinet on Indian affairs, Lord Reading left for England in April 1925 and returned in July. This was the first time that a Viceroy, while in office, had left India. Lord Lytton, the Governor of Bengal, acted as Viceroy. Before the Viceroy returned, Lord Brikenhead officially declared that the New Legislature was, for the time being, the one that India would be governed by.

Early in November 1925, it was officially announced that the Rt. Hon. E. F. Wood had been appointed Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Reading. He is heir and the only surviving son of Viscount Halifax. From 1921 to 1922, he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies; and from 1922 to 1924 President of the Board of Education; in 1925 he was the President of the Board of Agriculture; for the last fifteen years he represented West Riding in Parliament; he belongs to the Conservative Party; he is forty-four years of age, His grand-father, Lord Halifax, who was Secretary of State for India in 1854, wrote the despatch, which declared that the Indian Educational system should not be based upon Sanskrit or upon English, but upon the current vernaculars, as the means of instruction. His declaration has been carried out, Before leaving England, the Rt. Hon. E. F. Wood was created Baron Irwin of Kirby-under-Dale in the county of York.

Lord Reading had the difficult task of working the New Legislature at the start; the political situation was then most unsettled: anarchy, was spreading fast; the Public Services, especially the Indian Civil Service, found that the conditions, imposed on them by the New Legislature, were unpleasant; the

financial state of India was most unsatisfactroy. Lord Reading set himself to his duty unodtrusively. His previous experience in matters of legislation fitted him eminently for the critical situation that he had to face; his calm judgment, his firm determination, his genial manner, his unfailing courtesy, and his deep sense of justice supported him. The spirit of anarchy assailed him; but it was curbed. Several Commissions were appointed to enquire into and to counsel remedy for the discontent that prevailed. Slowly but surely, he led political opinion to believe in and act upon the lines of steady Constitutional progress. During the five years of his office, he had Lord Montagu, Lord Oliver and Lord Birkenhead as his Secretaries of State; they belonged respectively to the Liberal, the Labour and the Conservative Parties in England, and necessarily had a varying out-look upon matters of government. Despite this and the other difficulties, which Lord Reading had to cope with, he left India with the political and financial situation in a far better condition than when he assumed his heavy duties. His tenure of office was a success, and adds lustre to his long and brilliant career in public life.

3

Administration Under the Viceroyalty

1° Growth of Self-government

The Queen's Proclamation transferred the administration of India from the Company to the Crown. It pledged itself to administer India for the good of the people; and, in that pledge, lay hidden the germ of self-government. Indians, of whatever race or creed, were to be freely and impartially admitted to office under the Crown.

The first step towards self-government lay in decentralising the administration. Hence Lord Canning, in matters of finance, made the Provinces begin to share in the responsibility of government.

Politically, an important step, forward towards self-government was taken by the first Indian Councils Act. This Act has been described above under the events of Lord Canning's viceroyalty. During the viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne, the second Indian Councils Act still further developed self-government : by this Act, the membership of the Provincial Legislative Councils was enlarged; the right to elect members

to these Councils was conferred on Municipalities, Universities, and Chambers of Commerce; and the elected members of each Provincial Legislative Council were granted the right to elect one of their number to represent them on the Imperial Legislative Council. Thus the principle of elective representation, or of allowing the people a share in the government, was introduced.

This principle was further developed in what are known as the Morley-Minto Reforms. These Reforms were embodied in the third Indian Councils Act. Self-government increased; for, in some of the Provincial Legislative Councils, the official majority of members was done away with; non-official or elected members were allowed to propose measures of reform; more freedom was given to elected members to discuss proposals of the government; Indians were, for the first time, appointed to the Indian Council in England, and to the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils of India. These Reforms tended to lessen the official control of the Legislature. Government officials had to consider the opinion of the Indian members, who were elected by and represented the people.

Agitation for wider representation of Indians on the Imperial and Provincial Councils now began. This was inevitable; for, Indian naturally desire the government of India by themselves. Hence, when India had proved its loyalty to the Crown by its help in the Great War, Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England, announced in the House of Commons that India would be granted self-government as the goal of British policy; India, however, would remain a part of the British Empire; self-government would be granted step by step; for, the British Parliament considered that India was not yet ripe for full self-government. This announcement meant a great step forwards self-government; it promised that, in course of time, the British would gradually give up their ruling of India, and that an Indian Parliament would take their place.

In consequence of this announcement, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme was placed before the British

Parliament. A joint-council discussed their Scheme and issued the Government of India Act. Two years were further given for public criticism and improvement of the Act. It then became Law. It forms the New Legislature, and, in all probability. will be made use of till 1929.

Further down, the system, upon which India is governed, will be described. Here the Reforms, which the Government of India Act effected in that system, are briefly stated. First, in the Central Government, the Reforms led to :—a slight relaxation in the control of Parliament, and of the Secretary of State for India, over Indian affairs; an increase of Indian members on the Imperial Executive Council; the replacing of the Imperial Legislative Council by the Council of State and the Imperial Legislative Assembly.

Secondly, in the Local or Provincial Government, the following changes were made :—the Provincial Executive Council was divided into two parts; one is called the Governor-in-Council; and it has charge over what are known as reserved subjects of administration; the other is a Ministry formed of Indians nominated by the Governor; and it has charge over what are known as transferred subjects of administration; this two-fold ministry is called dyarchy; in the Provincial Legislative Council, the membership was enlarged; it contains a majority of elected Indians.

The general result of the Government of India Act is that Indians have the majority in the Imperial Legislative Assembly and in the Provincial Legislative Councils; they are also more strongly represented on the Imperial and in the Provincial Executive Councils than before 1921; hence, a greater share in and responsibility for the governing of India has been given them.

Looking back upon the Queen's Proclamatian, we see that the germ of self-government, which it reveaied, has been fostered; it is not yet fully grown; at present, it has reached that stage in its growth where responsibility for the government

of India rests with the elected representatives of the people in the Council of State, in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils.

2° The System of Government

After the Government of India Act was passed, the system of government in India continued to be divided into the Central and the Local Governments.

(a) The Central Government

The Central looks to the welfare of India as a whole and deals with its foreign policy. One division of it, is the Home Government, consisting of the King, the two Houses of Parliament, the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Council.

The King and the two Houses of Parliament are the supreme legislative and executive power; but, in fact, they only supervise the Government of India. The Secretary of State for India practically governs India for Parliament. He is a Cabinet minister and, as such, has to lay the annual Indian Budget before the House of Commons for discussion. War cannot be declared by India without his approval. The Viceroy is immediately responsible to him. Many high official appointments are made by him. The India Council is to help the Secretary of State, who is free to follow its counsed, except in finance. It has from eight to twelve members, three of whom are Indians; and half of the members must have had official experience in India for at least ten years, and must not have left India more than five years before their appointment to the Council.

The other division of the Central Government is the Imperial Government in India. It is made up of the Viceroy, the Executive Council, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Viceroy rules according to instructions from the Secretary of State; he is over all other Governors and

officials in India; all laws depend upon his sanction; he has the right to summon and address the Imperial Executive Council, the Council of State and the Imperial Legislative Assembly; the President of the Council of State is appointed by him; if the Imperial Legislature refuses to pass a Bill which he has proposed, he may certify the passage of the Bill, as a measure necessary for the safety, the peace or the interests of the country; such a certified Bill has the force of law for six months; in cases of emergency, he may, without reference to the Imperial Legislature, pass Ordinances, which will continue in force for six months; he can change or over-rule or prohibit a measure passed by the Courts of Law; he has full power in dealing with the Indian States; but his power is controlled by the Home Government; no Bill or Law laid down by him can become permanent unless it receives the sanction of that Government.

The Imperial Executive Council assists the Viceroy in the Administration. The Viceroy, is its head and, through it, he controls both Indian and Foreign affairs. This Council is a kind of Cabinet. In it the Commander-in-chief deals with military matters; the Home Member is concerned with internal good order; the Public Works Member sees to the collection of taxes, agriculture and public works, such as irrigation; the Financial Member looks after the Accounts; the Law Member frames new Laws and deals with exceptional difficulties in applying the Law; Commerce and Education have their own Ministers. Three Indians belong to this Council. All its members are appointed by the Home Government. The Viceroy and his Executive Councillors are also known as the Governor-General-in-Council.

The Council of State is an Upper Legislative Body, which approves of Laws on central subjects, or on subjects, in which the whole of India is concerned: thirty-three of its sixty members are elected by voters; these voters must be British subjects, and be at least twenty-one years of age, and pay a land tax of Rs. 2,000 a year or an annual income tax of Rs. 30,000; owners of entire villages, Fellows of Universities, Presidents and

Vice-Presidents of Municipalities, also have the right to elect members to this Council; its President and twenty-seven of its members are nominated by the Viceroy.

The Imperial Legislative Assembly is the Lower Legislating House. It frames Laws that concern India as a whole; one hundred and three out of one hundred and forty-four members are elected by voters. who must be British subjects and be at least twenty-one years of age, and pay any incometax, or own land, whose revenue is Rs. 75 a year. Its President is now elected.

In framing Laws, the Imperial Legislative Assembly follows a definite method. A member of the Assembly proposes what is called a private Bill; if the Imperial Legislative Assembly accepts the Bill, it is sent to the Council of State for approval; if the latter rejects the Bill, a joint session of the two Houses may discuss it again and modify it. When the Bill is finally passed, the Imperial Executive Council still retains the right to reject or modify or agree to it.

Not all laws are framed by the Legislative Assembly. A Bill may be proposed by the Governor-General-in-Council; it is called a Government Bill. As a rule, such a Bill is submitted to the Imperial Legislative Assembly. If this rejects the Bill, and if the Governor-General-in-Council considers the Bill necessary for the good of India, he can refer the Bill to the Council of State; and if this Council passes it, he has merely to report the fact to the Imperial Legislative Assembly. Such cases have already occurred. In 1922, the Viceroy proposed a Bill defending Indian States against their seditious subjects, who hatch plots against the States in British territory. The Imperial Legislative Assembly rejected the Bill. The Council of State passed it, and the Viceroy officially let the Assembly know of the fact. But in case the Council of State does not accept a Bill from the Viceroy, the Viceroy, if convinced that the Bill is for the good of India, can make the Bill become Law; such a Bill is said to be certified, and is in force for six months. But, before any Bill becomes permanent Law, it must first receive the sanction of the Home Government.

(b) Local Government

Local or Provincial Government varies in India. Ten out of the fifteen Provinces in India have a Governor, an Executive and a Legislative Council. These ten Provinces are Assam, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, Berar, Bombay, the Central Provinces, Delhi, Madrass, the Punjab, and the United Provinces.

The Governor of a Province is appointed for five years and is responsible to the Viceroy, whose instructions he must follow. He is assisted by the Provincial Executive Council. This Council consists of two parts. One is the Governor and his official colleagues, or the Governor-in-Council; in larger Provinces this Council consists of four members, two of whom must be non-official Indians; it deals with certain subjects known as reserved subjects; the chief reserved subjects are Irrigation, Land Revenue, Famine Relief, Justice, Police and Prisons, Public Service, taxes and loans. The menbers of the Governor-in-Council are appointed by the Home Government.

The other part of the Provincial Executive Council consists Indian Ministers appointed by the Governor from the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council. To them are of confided what are known as transferred subjects, of which Education, Sanitation Agriculture, Forests, Industries, and Local Self-government are the most important. In case of doubt whether a subject be reserved or transferred, the decision of the Governor, as head of the Administration, is final. The two parts of the Provincial Executive are independent of each other, except when the importance of the matter calls for mutual consultation. Orders on reserved subjects are issued as the orders of the Governor-in-Council; on transferred subjects, they are called orders of the Governor in consultation with the Ministers. This splitting up of the Provincial Executive is called Dyarchy or twofold rule; it is gradually to be dropped in favour of the Indian Ministers, to whom more of the reserved subjects will be transferred. These Indian Ministers, while serving on the Executive Council, remain responsible to the Provincial Legislative Council.

The Provincial Legislative Council consists of the Provincial Executive Council, of nominated members, and of elected members; seventy per cent of its members are elected by voters, who must be British subjects and be twenty-one years of age at least, and pay any income tax or pay a rent or receive a rent of Rs. 35; only twenty per cent of this Council are to be official members; the total of it members varies with the size or importance of the Province: its President is elected; the Governor is not a member; but he has the right to summon or address its members.

The representative power of the Council is large; but it cannot interfere with what are known as the reserved subjects; and it must obtain the previous sanction of the Viceroy to discuss the publice debt of India, the maintenance of British troops in India, and the dealing of the Imperial Government with Indian States or with foreign Powers; no Bill can be passed without the sanction of the Governor; the latter may refer a Bill to the Viceroy for sanction, who may send it on to the Home Government for approval; if the Governor proposes a Bill, and this Council rejects it, he may certify the Bill; such a Bill becomes law for six months; but it cannot be made permanent without the consent of the Viceroy or of the Home Government; the Governor may dissolve the Council or prorogue it from time to time; the Provincial Budget comes under the criticism of this Council; it may alter this Budget, except when, in the case of a reserved subject, the Governor deems the financial allotment necessary.

(c) Minor forms of Government

The system, which was followed in minor forms of government, has not been affected by the Government of India Act. These minor forms of government are found in the five remaning divisions of British India. The most important of these divisions is the N. W. Forntier Province; it is administered by a Chief Commissioner, appointed by and under the direct control of the Viceroy. British Baluchistan and Ajmer-Merwara come under an Agent-General, appointed by and

directly controlled by the Viceroy. Coorg is administered by the Resident of Mysore; and the Andamans by the Superintandent of those islands.

(d) Sub-Administration

In the chief Provinces, the system of government is somewhat decentralised. Administrative authority is delegated by the Governor, to Commissioners, Collectors and Sub-divisional Officers.

A Commissioner is at the head of a division which contains several districts. He supervises the work of Collectors, sends them instructions, and is responsible to the local Governor, to whom he must report and whose instructions he must obey.

A Collector is the head of a district and has to care for the details of administration in that district. He must gather the land revenues and taxes, keep records of land and registers, administer criminal justice, and control other departments in the district. Coming, as he does, into contact with all classes of people, his duties are most important. District Boards afford him advice and information.

A Sub-divisional Officer is the head of a sub-division of a district. This sub-division is called a Talukha. His duties are similar to those of the Collector, to whom he has to report and whose ihstructions he must fulfil.

Talukha Boards advise and inform the Sub-divisional Officers. Its members are partly elected, partly nominated. Besides the District Boards and Talukhas, cities and towns have Muncipalities which share in local self-government. The lowest Agent in local self-government is the Panchayat. The head of this is the Patel who, with the help of other villagers, decides disputes of the village, maintains law and tradition, and cares for the general tone and walfare of the village. It is the oldest form of self-government in India.

(e) Local Self-Government

Local self-government is that particular form of government, by which Indians are entrusted with the administration of some of the public matters in their own cities, or towns or villages; they thus gain experience in governing themselves, and through the Provincial Legislative Councils or through the Imperial Legislative Assembly, are prepared to take their share in the government of India. Municipal Corporations, Local Boards, Improvement and Port Trusts form the chief parts of the system of local self-government.

The most important of these parts of local self-government is the Municipal Corporation. It grew out of the ancient Panchayat or village system of self-government. In 1726 Calcutta, Bombay and Madras had their Municipalities. At first, these Municipalities wsre made up of officers, known as commissioners; they were appointed by ihe Governor of the Province. But, by degrees, members were elected by popular vote to the Municipalities. In 1882, Lord Ripon developed the Municipality; he drew up its ruls, defined its duties and powers, enlarged its strength by more elected members, and gave to it a greater share of independence and of responsibility. In 1892, by the second Indian Councils Act, Municipalities were empowered to elect their representatives to Provincial Councils, and these representatives could choose their own representative on the Imperial Council. In 1918, the powers of Municipalities were still further increased. Control over Municipalities passed from the Provincial Executive to the Provincial Legislative Council.

The powers of a Municipality are the following : it can levy taxes on houses, on water, on vehicles, on horses and cattle, and on entertainments; it can impose octroi duties, *i.e.*, taxes on certain goods which come into a town or city, from the neighbourhood; it is allowed to borrow money for the public work it has to do, if its income from taxation is not enough. The income from taxation is to be spent on the work that the Municipality has to do for public. The Municipality has to see to the cleanliness of the town or city and to

and to the public health. For this purpose, it appoints a Health Officer who has to look to the water-supply and to the control of and the cure of disease. Elementary education has to be provided for and made compulsory. The general comfort has to be cared for by good roads, by the lighting of the streets; by gardens and museums; by suitable divisions of a city or town; by the naming and the numbering of streets; by supplying cheap means of conveyance, such as Tramways; by introducing conveniences, such as the telephone.

The other forms of Local self-government may be briefly mentioned. Local Boards carry out in suburban or rural areas, the duties of Muncipalities. They were first introduced by Lord Ripon in 1882. They consist of the Panchayat, the Talukha Board, and the District Board. The Panchayat is local self-government in the village; the Talukha is the local self-government of several villages combined; the District Board is the local self-government of several talukha taken together. The Talukha Board and the District Board are not the Talukha Advisory Board and the District Advisory Board; these two deal with the Sub-Collector and the Collector, and belong to provincial Government.

Imporvement Trusts see to sanitary arrangements, and to the opening of new residential areas; Port Trusts care for shipping, and have to provide all that facilitates the handing and despatch of oversea trade at harbours.

(f) The Administration of Justice

Every system of government must see that its laws are carried out; it entrusts this watchfulness to the department that administers Justice. This department is called the Judicature; it not only punishes breaches of the law; but it also settles disputes among people and gives to their claims a legal basis; it also protects their lives and property, and thus secures and thus secures and preserves good other in the internal administration of the State. Thus, the work of this Judicial department of the State is two-fold. It has to preserve Civil Justice and

to apply Criminal Justice. Civil Justice is preserved when the just claims of persons are secured, or when wrongs are put right. Civil cases are not necessarily due to any wilful wickedness, and are not necessarily harmful to society. Criminal Justice is applied to cases where wilful crime or wickedness comes in, and harm has been wilfully done to or threatens society.

This work of the Judicature is done through Civil and Criminal Courts. These are of several kinds. Civil Justice has its High Cuort, its District Courts of Sessions, its first and its second class Courts with their first and second class of Subordinate Judges; it also has its Court of the District Munsiff; and it has its Courts of Small Causes in many important centres. Criminal Justice has Courts similar to the first four that Civil Justice has; it also has the Court of a Magistrate of the third class; and, in Presidency towns, it is helped by Honorary Magistrates. Thus each Provinces has its Civil and Criminal High Courts; its Civil and Criminal District Courts of Sessions; and its lower Civil and Criminal Courts.

Some details about these Courts will now be mentioned.

The High Court, whether Civil or Criminal, possesses the greatest power in administering Justice; it exists in the most important cities of the Provinces: its Judges are appointed by the Home-Government; barristers-at-law form one-third of the number of these Judges; another one-third is selected from the Indian Civil Service, and the remainder is chosen from among Indian Vakils of not less then ten years' standing; over every High Court there is one chief Justice, and to it are appointed not more than twenty puisne-Judges. A High Court exercises both Criminal and Civil jurisdiction. Its criminal jurisdiction is divided first into original jurisdiction, and this deals with cases sent up for trial by the Presidency Magistrates; secondly, into extraordinary original jurisdiction, and this deals with cases sent to the High Court from outside the city or the town where the Court is held; thirdly, into jurisdiction as a Court of appeal, of reference, and of revision; finally it has the power to pass sentence of death upon a criminal.

Its civil jurisdiction has seven subdivisions: Original ordinary jurisdiction, by which those suits are tried that are above small causes, and come from the city or town where the Court exists; original extraordinary jurisdiction which revises suits on the file of sub-ordinate Courts; appellate jurisdiction which tries appeals against the decisions of District or other sub-ordinate Courts, as well as against decisions made before its own tribunal; jurisdiction that deals with cases where infants, lunatics or helpless people are concerned; insolvency jurisdiction; admiralty, ecclesiastical, testamentary and intestate jurisdiction; finally matrimonial jurisdiction.

In cities and towns where High Courts exist, there may be additional Courts which try what are known as Small Causes. They are presided over by Magistrates. A first class Magistrate can fine up to Rs. 1,000, or sentence a person to two years' imprisonment; a second class Magistrate can fine up to Rs. 200, or sentence an offender to six months' imprisonment; a third class Magistrate can fine up to Rs. 100 or pass a sentence of one month's imprisonment. The Courts of Small Causes are either first, second or third class, and hold their Sessions throughout the year. To the High Court, they send all cases, which are beyond their powers to decide.

In Districts, there are Civil and Criminal Courts. The chief of these is the District Court of Sessions; its presiding officer is known as the District and Sessions Judge. He may pass sentence in any civil or criminal case; but, without the approval of the High Court, no sentence of death may be carried out; sub-ordinate Civil and Criminal Courts send to him cases which are beyond their powers to decide; in criminal cases he may be helped by a Joint, or Additional, or Assistant Sessions Judge.

All cases tried before a High Court, or before a District Court of Sessions, have a Jury consisting of twelve members. The Jury hears the proceedings of the case and the summing up by the Judge; it then declares whether the accused is guilty

or not; this declaration must be the opinion of the majority of the Jury, if the case is to be closed; but the Judge is not bound by their opinion; he may agree with their opinion and end the trial, or he may disagree and have the case tried again before another jury; or he may decide and refer the case to the High Court; the latter may either agree with his decision, or set it aside, or modify it, or order a re-trial.

The accused, after hearing his sentence, may make an appeal to the Appellate Jurisdiction of the High Court for a re-trial, or he may obtain its permission to appeal to the Privy Council in England.

In maintaining internal order, the Judicature is assisted by the Provincial Police. This Police force consists of the District, the Town, the Railway, and the Military Police.

The District Police come under the control of an Inspector-General; under him is a Deputy-Inspector General. In each district, there is a District Superintendent who, if the district be large, may have an Assistant Superintendent. Each district is divided into three or four circles containing three or four police stations. Each circle is controlled by an Inspector, and each station is under a Sub-Inspector. In each district a reserve Police force is kept at head-quarters. The whole Police force in each district is, however, dependent on the jurisdiction of the District Magistrate.

The Town Police are found in larger cities. They are independent of the Inspector-General, and come directly under a Police Commissioner. Under him are Deputy Commissioners. In Calcutta, divisions of the Town Police are under Deputy Commissioners; but, in Bombay and in Madras, they come under Superintendents. Each division has its stations. These stations are in charge of an Inspector, assisted by Deputy Inspectors, Indian Inspectors, and European Sergeants.

The Railway Police are a force used by the Railway authorities to maintain order at stations, and to prevent or detect robberies, or other breaches of the law.

The Military Police are generally used in unsettled places and are trained on military lines. They are divided into armed and unarmed sections. The duties of the armed sections lie in guarding treasures, escorting prisoners, and in operating against dacoity.

Besides the Provincial Police forces, there is the Criminal Investigation Department. This department is chiefly engaged in the secret finding out of crime; it is made up of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors; it is a link between the Central Government of India and the Provincial Police.

The duty of each branch of the Police force is to maintain public order, to enquire into criminal cases, and, after having obtained proofs of crime, to arrest the evil-doers and arraign them before a Court of Justice. If the Court finds the accused guilty, it may either sentence him to pay a fine or to go to prison.

Prisoners, who are sentenced to more than one year of imprisonment are sent to Central Jails in cities and large towns; in the districts, they are sent to the District Jail at head-quarters; besides these jails, there are smaller ones, where prisoners are kept, while under trial, or those who have to undergo a term of imprisionment for less than a year.

Those in prison have to do both hard and useful work. Certain trades are taught them, such as carpentary and weaving. The discipline is severe; but it is not cruel. Wholesome food and medical attendance are given them. The Provincial jails are under the control of an Inspector-General; the District jails are in the charge of a Civil Surgeon.

Offenders, under fifteen years of age, are considered juvenile, and are sent to a Reformatory School for a period of from three to seven years. They are not kept in such schools beyond the age of eighteen. They are kept under severce discipline and are taught useful trades. The aim of such reformatories is to make the young offenders fit to follow a useful career in after-life.

(g) The Army and the Navy

Generally speaking the Army and the Navy are forces, which the government of a country needs to protect itself from its enemies. These enemies are generally foreign to the country. But, at times, a country may have its own subjects as its enemies. Such cases are known as civil revolt or rebellion. If the Police force and the Law Courts are unable to subdue the revolt or rebellion, the Army or the Navy is called upon for assistance. The rebellious area is then placed under its control. Thus, the Army and the Navy are meant, primarily, for the external and, secondarily, for the internal defence of a country.

In India, the regular Army consists of a force of over two hundred thousand men; of these, seventy-four thousand are British soldiers, and twenty-six thousand are Indian; the entire force is distributed into a Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western Command. Besides this regular Army, there is an Auxiliary force, which is formed of European British subjects, and is meant as a reserve to the British section of the regular Army; a Territorial force, formed of Indians, has been sanctioned, and is to act as a reserve to the Indian section of the regular Army; its officers are supplied from the University Training Corps.

Apart from these forces, are the Volunteers. They give their services freely, and are meant to defend India, in case the regular Army should be called upon to act outside of India. They number close on forty thousand.

On the N. W. Frontier, a special Militia and Tribal force has been organised to defend and maintain order in that region. Assam and Burma have a military Police force numbering nearly twenty-two thousand. The Indian States have an Imperial Service Corps and a State force. The former comes under British training, and, in case of need, adds to the strength of the regular Army in British India; the latter is restricted in its service to the needs to the State, and does not come under British training.

Throughout India, trained soldiers, who are no longer on the active list of the Army, form a Reserve force; they number close on to forty thousand and, in case of need, may be called upon for active service.

Up to 1925 India had no navy; the East Indies Squadron of the British Navy guarded her shores; and India maintained a transport and survey service, known as the Royal Indian Marine. But in 1926 it was decided by the Home Government that India should have a Navy to defend her interests at sea. This Navy is on the same footing as the British Navy. It is manned by Indians, and its officers hold the King's Commission.

In recent years, the demand has been made by Indians for a larger share in the defence of India by themselves. The demand asked for wider Indianisation of the Commissioned rank in the regular Army, and for a regular number of trained Indians in the Territorial force. This demand has been acceded to. Indian gentlemen can now obtain the King's Commission in the Indian section of the regular Army; a preparatory college has been established at Dehra Dun, and is known as the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College; in addition, the military College of Sandhurst in England reserves ten places for candidates from Dehra Dun; arrangements have been made for the complete Indianisation of eight units of the Indian section of the regular Army; the Territorial force now has twenty battalions or a force of twelve thousand men; its officers receive the Viceroy's Commission.

(h) Finance

In order to carry on its work the Government of a country needs money. It must get the money it needs from the country itself. This income is called Revenue. Revenue is obtained either through taxation or from other sources. Through taxation Revenue is obtained from (1) Salt: this duty is imposed on salt imported into thecountry; the tax amounts to Rs. 1-8. per maund; (2) Excise : this is a tax on intoxicating liquors,

hemp, toddy, cotton and cocaine; it includes the fees for licences to sell these things; (3) Customs : its duties are made up of a general import duty of eleven per cent; special import duties; export duties on rice, flour and jute; (4) Stamps : legal documents, receipts of money, and Court papers must be stamped to posses documentary value; the sale of such stamps yields a large income to Government; (5) Provincial Rates or Cesses are levied for road expenses, for the up-keep of schools, hospitals, and for the use of land for local purposes; (6) the Income tax: this means that those, whose income is more than Rs. 1,000 year, have to pay a part of their income to Government; those, whose income ranges from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 a year, have to pay four pies per rupee in tax; those, whose income is over Rs. 2,000 per year, have to pay five pies or more per rupee in tax; agricultural income is exempt from this tax; (7) Registration fees, such as for the transfer of ownership over immovable property.

Revenue is also obtained from other sources besides taxation. These sources are the Railways, the Telegraphs, the Post Office, Irrigation works, tributes from the Indian States, the sale of Forest produce, the Government monopoly of opium, and, finally, the land revenue.

Land revenue is the richest source of income to the Government. All lands owned by cultivators or by land-lords, have been measured; and upon their productiveness, the revenue due to Government is settled. There are three forms of settlement of land revenue. The first is the Permanent Revenue Settlement. In 1793, the revenue due to the Government was fixed permanently for the greater number of districts in Bengal, and for some districts in the United Provinces, and in the Madras Presidency. The second settlement is known as the Zemindary; in this system, villages are owned either by one land-lord or by several in partnership; the owner or owners of villages collect the revenue from the villagers and pay a share of it to the Government; this share is fixed anew every twenty or thirty years; the system prevails in the United and in the Central Provinces, and in the Punjab. The third kind of

revenue settlement is the Ryotwari; in this system each cultivator is a small land-owner; he pays a fixed share of his revenue directly to the Government; this system prevails in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and in the Province of Agra.

The Government publishes both an account of its receipts from all these sources of revenue, and an account of the way it spends these receipts for the good of the country. This account of receipts and expenditure during each year is known as the Budget. This Budget gives one an insight into the financial position of a country. If the receipts are greater than the expenditure, the Budget is good; for, taxation may be lessened; if the receipts and expenditure balance, then matters are satisfactory; but, if the expenditure is greater than the receipts, then matters are ill; more taxation then becomes needful to make good the deficit, if the expenditure cannot be lessened by retrenchment. The Indian Imperial Government publishes what is called the Imperial Budget; and the Local Government publishes its Provincial Budget. In these Budgets, not only is an account given of the receipts and expenditure during the financial year; but proposals for the coming year are also brought forward, and a forecast of receipt and expenditure is made. These proposals, and the forecast of the financial situation, are always discussed before they are accepted or rejected.

The money received through the various sources of revenue is spent by Government on : (1) the Civil Departments; these are the General Administration, the Courts of Justice, the Police, the Indian Marine, the Educational, the Medical, the Political, the Ecclesiastical, and minor departments, such as the Survey of India, the Meteorological department, and Experimental Cultivation; (2) the Post Office, the Telegraphs and the Mint; (3) Irrigation; (4) the Public Works Department; (5) Railways; (6) Military and Naval departments; (7) the Public Debt i.e., interest paid on money borrowed by Government from the Public; (8) Extraordinary charges, i.e., Famine relief, special military operations, construction of new railways, and extension of irrigation. Details of the Imperial and of the Provincial Expenditure are published in the Imperial and the Provincial Budgets respectively.

4

The Indian States

The Queen's Proclamation confirmed all treaties and engagements made by the East India Company with the Indian States. It pledged itself to respect the rights dignities and honour of the Indian Princes, and to further the prosperity and social advancement of their possessions. No encroachment was to be made upon their territories. At that time the Rulers of Indian States were Allies of the Crown. But the Act of Parliament, which enabled the Queen to assume the title of Empress of India, brought the Indian States into the British Empire and charged their relationship towards the Crown. For, ever since 1857, the dependence of the Indian States upon the Crown had grown insensibly. No new definite treaties had brought this about. But, from being mere allies, they became, by the Act of 1877, parts of the British Empire. Though their people did not, thereby, become British Subjects of British India, they henceforward ranked as British Subjects of the British Empire. Politically, they are somewhat like the subjects of a British dominion out of India. But they are protected by and, in several matters, are under the control of the British Government in India.

Indian States frame their own laws, and have their own coinage and Courts of Justice.

The Law of Lapse, of course, no longer exists. The British Government, nevertheless, does not permit a Raja to divide the territory of the State among his sons. No State may form political ties with foreign Powers or with other Indian States. War cannot be waged by one State on another. The British Resident of the State is to be consulted on all important matters. In cases of civil war or misrule, the British Government can interfere and depose the Ruler, but not annex the State.

There are about 700 States in India. Most of them are small. They are divided into three classes.

First Class States are six in number. These are Haidarabad, Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir, Jammu and Nepal. They deal directly with the Viceroy.

Second Class States number 170 and are grouped into the Central India Agency, the Rajputana Agancy, and the Baluchistan Agency. The first contains 148, among which are Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal and Rewa; the second has twenty and includes Jodhpur, Bikanir, Jaipur, Udaipur, Bharatpur and Kotah; the third agency is made up of Kelat and Las Bela. Each of these groups is under an Agent to the Governor-General.

Third Class States are under the control of provincial Governors. Bengal contains thirty, including Sikkim and Cooch Bihar; the United Provinces has two, including Rampur; the Bombay Presidency has 384, with Kolhapur and Cutch; in the Madras Presidency, there are Travancore, Cochin, Pudu-cottah, Banganapalle and Sandur; in the Punjab there are thirty-four, including Patiala, Nabha, Bahawalpur and Kapur-thala. Burma has fifty-two States, of which the Shan States are the most important.

The King-Emperor, by a Proclamation established a Chamber of Princes. This Chamber has been described under the Niceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford; it aims at advancing

those interests which are common to their territories and to British India; the attendance of its members is not compulsory.

Dadabhai Naoroji

Dadabhai Naoroji was born in Bombay in humble circumstances and, as a student, was remarkably intelligent. He was the first Indian to hold a Professorship in a Government College. While lecturing on Mathematics at Elphinstone College, he also did much social and literary work. In 1853, he did business for a Parsee firm in England, and there gave his leisure to lectures on India. On his return Bombay in 1869, his services were publicly and warmly acknowledged by his countrymen. He continued his social and educational labours in the city till his appointment as Dewan of Baroda in 1874. Many reforms were introduced by him into that State. In 1885, he was appointed as additional member of the Governor's Council in Bombay. In the formation and direction of the Indian National Congress, which was then opened, he played a leading role. On his return to England in 1886, he was unsuccessful in his endeavour to enter Parliament; he came back to India, and was elected President of the National Congress in 1887; then he went back to England, and in 1893 was a member of the House of Commons. In that year he found time to come back to India to preside over the National Congress held at Lahore. In 1895, he was one of the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure. In this he was the first Indian to hold such a position. His well-known work entitled: "Poverty and un-British Rule in India," was published in 1901. While still in England, he was elected, in 1905, President of the National Congress for the third time. The reception that he received in Bombay and Calcutta, has not been paralleled. Under his leadership, the Congress resolved that Swaraj should be the aim in future of Indian political endeavour. He returned to England in 1907; but, as his health did not improve he came back and spent the remainder of his long life at Varsova.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta

Born in Bombay in 1854, Sir Pherozeshah, after taking

hie degree of Master of Arts, went to England to study Law. On his return, he became a very successful lawyer and, in 1872 entered the Bombay Municipality; he was thrice made its President, and spent thirty-eight years in its service. He did much towards the founding of the National Congress in 1885; and, in 1886, was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was its President in 1890. Later on, he became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. For his public services, he received the title of C.I.E. in 1894 and a K.C.I.E. in 1804. He was a gifted orator, a great political fighter, and the trusted leader of the politicians of his day.

Balgangadhar Tilak

Balgangadhar Tilak was born at Ratnagiri, graduated in 1876 and took to Law. Much of his time was given to promoting education. With Mr. Agarkar and two other friends, he founded the New English School at Poona. His interest in journalism lent its support to the 'Maratha' and the 'Kesari', two prominent newspapers. Owing to his strong articles against the Karbhari of Kolhapur, he was imprisoned. In 1884, he and his friends erected the Fergusson College at Poona. From that time onwards he gave himself wholly to politics, sociology and Vedic study. A prominent member of the National Congress, he arranged special celebrations in honour of Sivaji. In 1897 he was imprisoned for certain seditious articles in the "Kesari". For a similar offence he was, in 1908, sentenced to six years rigorous imprisonment. During these years he completed a popular commentary on the Gita, and a remarkable work on Vedic chronology, called "Orion in prison". In 1916 he started the Home Rule League. Most of his career was a struggle against what he considered was the autocratic rule of the Government.

Gopal Krishan Gokhale

Gopal Krishan Gokhale was born at Kolhapur of a Brahmin family in a lowly position. While Professor of History and Economics at Fergusson College in Poona he devoted himself for many years to educational and social work;

he became the Principal of the Collage; went to England as a member of the Welby Commission on Indian expenditure and, on retiring from College work, was elected to the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1902. He was a keen critic of the Government. Lord Curzon declared that Gokhale was the ablest Indian he had ever met. In 1905, he was delegated to advocate Indian matters in England; and, in the following year, he presided over the National Congress held at Benares. Later on, he established the Servants of India Society, which has done and is doing very useful work towards the uplifting of the uneducated and poorer classes of the population.

Justice Ranade

After a very successful school and college course, he was first the Marathi translator to Government and, later on, became Professor of English Literature at Elphinstone College. Taking to Law, he became a Justice of the High Court of Bombay. His "Rise of the Maratha Power" and his "Political Economy" are books of note. His talents, both moral and intellectual, enabled him to set a high ideal of patriotic duty before his countrymen. He was singularly free from all class or race prejudice. Although of a retiring and modest disposition, the nobility and gentleness of his charecter could not escap notice, nor curtail the wide influence for good they exerted at a time when the old order of things was changing for the new in India.

Lord Sinha

Lord Sinha reached a unique position in Indian public life, as Baron of Raipur and a Peer of the British Realm. He was born in 1863 of a well-to-do and ancient Zemindar family, and was the youngest of seven children. After schooling at the Birbhoom Zilla School, he passed the Intermediate at Presidency College, Calcutta. He went to England in 1881, and, after a successful career at Lincoln's Inn, was called to the Bar in 1886. His uprightness, hard work and cool courage, his quick intelligence and sound judgment, won for him pre-eminence as a Barrister of the High Court of

Calcutta. In 1903 the Government appointed him as Standing Counsel to the Governor-in-Council. Three years later he was made Advocate General of Bengal. In 1909, he was the first Indian elected as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In 1915 he was the President of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay. There he expressed the view that India should strive after Swaraj by gradual evolution and cautious progress. He strongly maintained that industrial development was the essential need of India; he declared that, without an increase in prosperity, contentment would never come to the country; a vast section of its population was always on the border of starvation; India was rich in all the resources of nature; and yet, in productiveness, it was one of poorest of countries; this was because, industrially she was little developed. Besides industrial development, he also urged that Indians should receive the King's Commission in the Indian army, and that all insidious distinctions in the Arms Act should be abolished. In 1917, he was India's representative appointed to assist the Secretary of State at the Imperial War Conference. This made him also a member of the War Cabinet. He was made a Freeman of the City of London that year. In 1919, he was Under-Secretary of State, was created a Baron and came out to India as the first Indian Governor of Bihar. In 1923 he resigned this office and retired from public life.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore

Rabindranath Tagore, the well-known poet and author, was born in 1861 of an ancient and noble family. He was educated privately and, after spending many years at Calcutta, went back to his home to take charge of his father's estates. There he founded a school at Shantiniketar, Bolpur, Bengal. He has devoted much of his life to this school. While at his ancestral home, he wrote many of the works which have made his name famous. In 1912, he visited England and, in 1913, was awarded the Noble Prize for Literature. He has published over thirty poetical and over twenty-eight prose works in Bengali. These include novels, short stories, essays, dramas,

and religious themes. Many of his works have been translated into English. Some of these are Gitangali, Sadanha, Chitra, Fruit Gathering, Nationalism, the Home and the Hearth, the Wreck, Glimpses of Bengal, and the Fugitive.

Mr. Gandhi

Mr. Gandhi was born in 1869. He was educated at Rajkote in the State of Bhavnagar, took his University degrees in Bombay, and became a Barrister-at-law from the Inner Temple, London. He practised law first in Kathiawar, and then in South Africa. During the Boer War and the Zulu campaign in Natal, he was in charge of an Indian Ambulance Corps. When the Great War broke out, he again took charge of an Ambulance Corps in British East Africa, and conducted a recruiting campaign in Kaira. But his experience of the unfair treatment meteh out of Indians in South Africa, embittered him greatty, and made of him an enemy of the British system of government. He has repeatedly declared that he is no enemy of the British people as such. By a policy of passive resistance, he won better treatment for his countrymen in South Africa. On returning to India from South Africa. he deemed that injustice was being done by the Indian Government to the peasants of Champaran in Bihar and of Kaira in the Guzarat Province. He started what is known as the Satyagraha, or the movement of passive resistance to the Government. The Rowlatt Act, the Khilafat Question, and the Jallianwallah Baugh spread Satyagraha throughout India. He next disapproved of the Government of India Act and introduced non-co-operation. From 1918 to 1921, he was unquestionably the leader of India towards the goal of immediate Swaraj. Though he strongly opposed violence in principle, he admitted that violence and even blood-shed might practically result from non-co-operation. Blood-shed did occur. He all blame for it upon himself. As anarchy was rife in India, and as he was, perhaps unwillingly, one of its causes, he was arrested, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to six years imprisonment. Within two years, he was released; for, his health began to fail him. As he had not asked for his release, he, resumed his political

campaign and its leadership against the Government. But. during his imprisonment, other leaders of non-co-operation had arisen. These did not want non-co-operation to exclude them from entering the Legislature. Mr. Gandhi had opposed all such entry. But the new leaders believed that, by their entry into the Legislature, they could all the more easily wreck the existing Government and bring in Swaraj. They entered the Legislature as the Swarajist Party. This caused a cleavage between them and Mr.Gandhi who wanted non-co-operation to undergo no such change.

Mr. Gandhi, in this and in other cases, showed that his ideal temperament was not suited for practical leadership in politics. He now held up the spinning of Khaddar as the goal to pursue if Swaraj were to be gained. "In this" says a writer, "he at least painted a picture of Arcadian happiness throughout India ; the spinning wheel merrily buzzing, the happy peasant toiling in his fertile fields, want and misery gone. The picture, if fanciful, was pretty". But the spinning of Khaddar, as a pancea for political India, only weakened still more the hold that Mr. Gandhi then had upon the mind of India. In 1924, he presided over the National Congress held at Belgaum. In 1925 he agreed to support the Swarajists : but his reasons for doing so, whatever they may have been, hardly agree with what he now thinks about Civil disobedience, his own pet weapon : "As far ahead as I can see," he says, "Civil disobedience is an impossibility in India."

Mr. Gandhi has earned his world-wide reputation because he was figure as the champion, who could free India from the shackles of British Rule. His strength, he claimed, lay in soul-force against brute-force. Perhaps Mr. Gandhi may come to realize that his high gifts and his noble life might have been better spent in leading India on to her freedom through a truer Swaraj than the one, over which his energy has run to waste.

Mr. C. R. Das

Mr. C. R. Das was born in Calcutta, educated at the

London Missionary school, graduated from Presidency College, and went to England to study Law. He came back to Calcutta as a Barrister-at-Law from Gray's Inn, and built up a large practice as a criminal lawyer; his average monthly income was Rs. 35000. But he gave up this lucrative practice to devote himself to politics; and on the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi in 1923, he became the leader of the Swarajist Party. He believed that Swaraj would be obtained the sooner, if Swarajists were elected as members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislature; for, if Swarajists were within the Legislature, they could more easily wreck it. Up to that time non-co-operators had follwoed Mr. Gandhi's opinion that, in no way, could a non-co-operator serve under the Government; but the opinion of Mr. Das won favour and bore immediate fruit. In the Central Provinces and in Bengal, the Swarajists won their way into the Legislature and brought the Legislature to a standstill. But Government was not overthrown; it continued in these Provinces to work on the lines of the administration that had been in use before the year 1921; Swaraj did not result. From 1923 to 1925, Mr. Das continued as the leader of the Swarajist Party. But he died suddenly in 1925. As an orator, his poweres were remarkable. He wrote several pieces of poetry in Bengali; one of his poems has been translated into English, under the title of "Songs of the Sea."

After his death, Pandit Motilal Nehru assumed the leadership of the Swarajists. But, after the experience of the last few years, a saner view of sound politics seems to have gained ground among a number of Swarajists. This number favours responsive co-operation with the Government; that is to say, it will not blindly oppose Government; but it will co-operate with Government in all matters, which it deems, to be really useful to the country. Responsive co-operators would, therefore, not differ much from those, who are known as Liberals in politics.

FOURTH SECTION

AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA

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Afghanistan

The connection of Afghanistan with India dates back to remote time. In the third century B.C., the Mauryas, whose capital was at Patna, held sway over Afghanistan. In the centuries that followed, it passed from Hindu to Persian and from Persian to Mogul sovereigns. Babar was lord of Kabul in 1526. Akbar was the governor of Ghazni in his boyhood. But before the death of Aurangzeb, Mogul sway over Afghanistan was lost. Shortly after this loss, Nadir Shah, a Persian soldier of fortune who had overthrown the reigning dynasty of Persia, overran Afghanistan, and entering India, routed the Mogul forces, sacked Delhi and returned to Persia laden with priceless booty. He was, however assassinated in camp at Kharasan. Ahmad Shah of the Abdalli clan of Afghans, who commanded a large body of cavalry in Nadir Shah's army, then rode off eastwards to conquer Afghanistan. From there, between the years 1748 and 1751, he invaded and seized the Punjab. When the Marathas overran the Punjab, he swept down upon and routed them at Panipat in 1761. Had Ahmad Shah Abdalli or Durrani now founded a kingdom, stretching from Afghanistan and across the Punjab to Delhi, the history of India and that of the British would have been different. But his troops laden with

booty insisted on returning home. Moreover, his western provinces on the Persian frontier were threatening to revolt. So he appointed his son as Governor of the Punjab, and went back to Afghanistan. There he founded its dynasty of Amirs. Twenty years later, the Amir Zaman Shan, was forced by the Sikhs to retire from the Punjab. But in 1797, owing to Tippu's instigation, Zaman Shah again marched down to the Punjab and occupied Lahore. His action caused no slight anxiety to the British. But, in 1798, he had to retire to protect his western provinces against Persia. His was the last invasion of India by an Afghan ruler.

THE AFGHAN WARS

The First Afghan War

When Lord Auckland came out to India, French interference in Asiatic affairs was at an end. Russia was now feared. For, on the defeat of Napoleon, Russia recovered her strength and extended her dominions as far as the Caspian Sea, and won commanding influence over Persia. The Persians had attacked Herat. It was thought that from there, they and the Russians would invade India; for in Afghanistan, Dost Mohamed, an usurper, had driven Shah Shuja, a descendent of Ahmad Shah Abdalli, from the Afghan throne to seek British protection. An Embassy under Lieutenant Burns was sent to Dost Mohamed to gain him over. Dost Mohamed, however, refused to enter into any treaty, unless he got Peshawar back from Ranjit Singh, the Sikh, who had seized it during this Afghan strife for the throne. But as Ranijit Singh was an ally of the British, Lord Auckland thought that the best way to check Russian iefluence would be to support Shah Shuja's claim. So, a tripartite treaty was formed between the Government of India, Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh, and an army was sent into Afghanistan.

The army occupied Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul. Bu Ranjit Singh's son died, and the Sikh army withdrew. Dost Mohamed was, nevertheless, defeated at Parwan and surrendered. He was sent to Calcutta. Shah Shuja was enteroned.

But the Afghans under Akbar Khan, the elder son of Dost Mohamed, did not want him and rebelled; they murdered Sir William Macnaghten, the British political agent, and forced the British army to retire from Kabul. Of this force of fifteen thousand men, only one, Surgeon Brydon, reached Jalalabad safe. Shah Shuja was then murdered. The first Afghan War was the worst disaster that ever befell the British in the East.

Lord Auckland was now recalled. He was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, who continued the first Afghan War. Akbar Khan was successfully repulesd and driven back by General Sale at Jalalabad. Two British armies were now sent against him. The forts of Ghazni and Istalif were stormed and Kabul was taken. British honour was thus vindicated. Dost Mohamed was replaced on the throne and ruled till 1863.

The Second Afghan War

In 1877 Sher Ali, fearing Russia, had sought an alliance with the British. But, acting on the principle of "masterly inactivity", Lord Lytton refused this alliance. War broke out between Russia and Turkey. England intervened to prevent Russia from taking Constantinople, and sent Indian troops to Malta. Russia, in return, sent an Envoy to Sher Ali, who received him well. Lytton's Envoy to Sher Ali was not received. Lord Lytton, instructed by Lord Salisbury and by Lord Beaconsfield, held that, if Sher Ali would not be a friend, he must be treated as an enemy; and that the danger of Russian invasion of India should be lessened by occupying a part of Baluchistan, south of Kandahar, and by securing the Bolan and Kojah Passes by a garrison at Quetta.

Afghanistan was then invaded. Sher Ali fled to Turkestan and died soon after. Yakub Khan was made Amir; but, by the Treaty of Gondamuk, he had to accept a British Envoy at Kabul, and agree to the British aims traced above.

Within a few weeks, Sir Louis Cavagnari was murdereh at Kabul by rebels General Roberts occupied Kabul and

punished the rebels. Sir Donald Stuart defeated them at Ahmad Khel. Yakub Khan was deposed.

The Liberals under Gladstone now came into power, and disapproved of the Afghan policy that the Conservative Party had followed. Lord Lytton resigned.

Lord Ripon succeeded him and recognised Abdur Rahman, Sher Ali's nephew, as Amir. But Ayub Khan, his rival, rebelled and defeated General Burrows at Maiwand, who retired to Kandahar. Lord Roberts marched from Kabul, a distance of three hundred and eighteen miles, in twenty-three days, and defeated Ayub Khan at Kandabar. Abdur Rahman was made Amir.

The British then withdrew from Afghanistan, but occupied Baluchistan and garrisoned Quetta. This gave them control over the Bolan and Kojah Passes, and made it possible for them to enter Afghanistan, without travelling over the Khyber Pass. The Kurram Pass was also held. A railway was laid through the Bolan Pass and as far as Chaman.

As the Russian frontier bordered on Afgnanistan territory, the British still feared that Russia would seize Herat. To settle the western Afghan boundary, a joint Afghan, Russian and British commission was formed. Before it met, General Kamarov took Panjdeh, an Afghan village between Herat and Merv. Both Russian and Afghan claimed the village. Through the diplomacy of Lord Dufferin, war was averted. Russia kept Panjdeh, but had to pay the Amir a large indemnity. The Amir then signed the Treaty of Rawalpindi with Lord Dufferin. By it, he received a large subsidy; the integrity of his territory was again guaranteed; and mutual friendship between the British and Afghanistan was strengthened.

Trouble next arose on the Tribal Frontier. One of the claimants to the chieftainship of Chitral, to the north-east of Kashmir, was not supported by the British Political Agent of that district. In consequence the latter, and a small British garrison, were besieged in Fort Chitral.

They were relieved by two British forces. Chitral was permanently occupied. This occupation made the Waziris and the Afridis, neighbouring tribes in the Tirah valley, attack British garrisons in the Tochi valley and in the Khyber Pass. Tirah, to the north-west of Peshawar, was overrun by a British force, and the tribes were punished but not subdued.

Between Afghanistan and the British North Western Frontier is a tract of country called the Borderland. It strenches from Chitral in the north to British Baluchistan in the south. Warlike tribes inhabit this mountainous tract. In the north are the Chitralis; on their west are the Mohmand; below these, in the Tirah valley and around the Khyber Pass, are the Afridis; next come the Khels, who are found in the Kohat and Kurram areas; adjoining them are the Mahsuds, who occupy the most westerly tracts of the Tirah district, and tracts neighbouring on Waziristan. The Waziris extend their influence as far south as the Gomal Pass, the Zhob valley and British Baluchistan. All these tribes are warlike and restless. Enmity towards the British often made them assault the British Frontier garrisons. Punitive expeditions against them had to be organised; but they were very costly both in life and in money. So Lord Curzon proposed to do away with these useless punitive expeditions. Accordingly, he withdrew British garrisons, from isolated out-posts, secured guards for the Passes by levies taken from the local Tribesmen and formed the North Western Province by uniting parts of the Punjab with certain Afghan tribal districts. This Province was placed directly under the Viceroy. Lord Curzon's North Western Policy worked well till 1916.

The Third Afghan War

In 1917 Afghan hostility showed itself very strongly. It reached a climax in 1919, when Amanullah, the Amir of Afghanistan, declared war and raided British India. The causes that fostered his hasty action may be stated as follows :

(*a*) When the Great War broke out, and when Turkey

entered it against Britain, the religious feelings of the Afghans, who are all Mohamedans, inclined them the side of Turkey. For Turkey is not only the main political but is also the chief religious prop of Islam.

(*b*) Aided by this bond of religion, German agents, both in India and in Afghanistan, were busy stirring up hatred against the British.

(*c*) In India itself there was wide unrest. Almost all the British army was out of the country. It was a favourable moment to deepen disaffection in India. The wildest rumours were spread against the British. Such rumours reached not only the Frontier tribes, but went into Afghanistan itself.

(*d*) The Tribesmen had indeed come under some British control, and had been formed into a militia by Lord Curzon. But they viewed the strong strategic position of the British on their Frontier, as a menace to their independence and were restless in consequence. The Mahsuds now took to raiding. At first they were left alone; but, later on, Lord Chelmsford brought them more under control. Other tribes were punished for their rebellious behaviour. The result was the conviction that the British wanted to subjugate them entirely. No men love their freedom more than these Tribesmen do. Hence their discontent grew rampant. This was fostered by German propaganda from Afghanistan, whose army and people favoured Turkey. But the firmness of Habibullah, the Amir, who remained neutral, saved the British for the time being from greater trouble.

(*e*) Before dealing with the immediate cause of the desultory warfare that followed, a few words on the policy of Habibullah are necessary His father, Abdur Rahman, had welded Afghanistan into a powerful State. This had been done by firm control over local chiefs. They resented this but had to submit. When he died in 1901, Habibullah continued the same policy. This made enemies for him. His policy of neutrality, which no doubt, made matters lighter for the British

in India, added fuel to the fire in Afghanistan. He was assassinated at Jalalabad. His third son Amanullah succeeded him.

(*f*) Amanullah secured the co-operation of the Tribesmen, and supported by the army and people of Afghanistan, attacked British territory.

Jalalabad and Kabul were bombed by British aeroplanes. Dacca was taken by the British and Fort Baldak destroyed. The Amir proposed an armistice. A conference followed, at which Sir Grant Hamilton represented the Viceroy; and an Afghan noble was present as the Envoy of Amanullah.

The result of the conference was that the British withdrew the subsidy granted in the treaty of Rawalpindi by Lord Ripon to Abdur Rahman; a British Commission was to determine a new frontier line between Afghanistan and the British North Western Territory; and six months after settling the Frontier, another conference was to be held to draw up a lasting agreement. The Amir was given a free hand in his foreign policy. For some time afterwards, he fought shy of any further settlement of affairs. Hence, during the next two years, desultory warfare continued between the British and the Tribesmen, notably with the Mahsuds and the Waziris.

In the meanwhile, the Amir of Afghanistan dallied. He found himself in a position of difficulty. The Soviet Government of Russia, as it grew in power, was aggressively active in Persian and Afghan political spheres. But India was its ultimate goal. The Amir was at first not quite able to decide whether the British or the Russian would be the better friend to have. Fortunately, the Bolshevik oppression of Mohamedans in Bokhara, Transcaucasia and Turkistan, set the Amir against an alliance of Islam with Bolshevism. He invited a British delegation to Kabul for the purpose of discussing an Anglo-Afghan Treaty. A delegation under Sir Henry Dobbs arrived in Kabul; but the ebb and flow of the Soviet fortunes in Central Asia prolonged the negotiations. When, however, the weakness

of Russia under Soviet rule could no longer be concealed, the Amir's Government definitely favoured an Anglo-Afghan treaty, based if not on near friendship, at least on neighbourly feeling. The two Governments agreed not to interfere with the external and internal independence of each other; existing boundaries were acknowledged; legations at London and Kabul were arranged for; and Consular officers were to be received at Delhi, Calcutta, Karachi, Bombay, Kandahar and Jalalabad respectively. Each Government undertook to inform the other of any major military operations that should take place near the boundary line. Postal, Trade and Customs facilities were also agreed upon. Thus, the close of the year 1921 marked real progress in good feeling between Afghanistan and British India.

But the Tribesmen of the Borderland, notably the Mahsuds, continued to give trouble. Campaigns against them had to be undertaken. Military roads have opened out more difficult tracts of the Borderland and strategic centres have been permanently occupied. A railway line has been laid through the Khyber Pass and reaches as far as Jamrud. The Tribesmen are thus being gradually brought under control. This gives greater tranquility to British India.

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